



MINISTRY OF HOUSING AND LOCAL GOVERNMENT

COMMITTEE ON THE
MANAGEMENT OF LOCAL GOVERNMENT

Management of Local Government

Volume 2

THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILLOR

LONDON
HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE

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THE LOCAL GOVERNMENT COUNCILLOR

by

Louis Moss and Stanley R. Parker

*An Enquiry carried out for the Committee
by the Government Social Survey*

LONDON
HER MAJESTY'S STATIONERY OFFICE
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Introduction

1. This is an account of a survey of some of the people in local government—the councillors. At the request of the Maud Committee we have tried to describe councillors, to say how they spend their time and how they feel about some aspects of council work.

It was not the purpose of the Maud Committee to outline a new structure of local government. Its terms of reference assumed that the main pattern of authorities and the distribution of responsibilities between them would for *the time being* remain unaltered. And this survey, necessarily, was designed on the same assumption.

We have tried to help the Committee by providing more information than was hitherto available about the kind of people who at the time of the survey were coming into local government, about their experience as councillors and about their attitudes to some of the activities in which they were involved. A more satisfactory organisation of local government may, in the long run, require changes in function or structure. It seemed to us that whatever changes might be made are more likely to be successful if they take present experience into account. It is the purpose of this report to record some part of the present experience. A parallel survey of electors was carried out at the same time as this study of councillors. This is reported separately.

2. As is usual with research done in connection with most public enquiries in Britain the survey was launched some time after the Maud Committee began its work. The results, however, had to be available before the Committee reached its conclusions and the limited time available affected the design of the survey in some ways. The number of councillors we were able to interview was fewer and the scope of the interviews more limited than we should have liked. We also thought that it was more important to give the Committee some results when it could still take account of them than to make all the analyses of our material which would have been possible. Much more could be done with our data which might illumine many other matters which are of interest to students of local government and are perhaps relevant to the many changes in its organisation and functioning which will be discussed in the days ahead.

3. *The Questions:* The content of the surveys was discussed with the Committee and with officials of the local government associations shortly after its work began. At that time it was not clear along what lines its enquiries would move or what would become its central interests. No doubt if the survey had been designed at a later stage in the Committee's work its scope and direction might have been different. However, it was not possible at the time to select some dominant issues and design the survey around them. Instead a series of issues was selected all of which were related to the Committee's broad field of interest. Some of the information in which we were interested needed only very direct and simple questions—such as the age of councillors and in which year they were first elected to their present council. Previous Social Survey experience had shown that a carefully designed and controlled postal enquiry could be used for

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such purposes. A fairly large sample would be needed to show how such characteristics of councillors vary from one type of authority to another. Other questions, however, such as those designed to elicit councillors' opinions could be put to councillors only in direct face to face interviews carried out by trained fieldworkers. We could not afford the time needed to interview and process the results of the large sample needed for describing councillors' characteristics. We therefore decided to collect most of the factual material needed by a *postal enquiry* directed to a substantial sample and to interview only a sample of this sample. The ground covered in the postal survey was decided by small-scale pilot studies.

The scope of the *interview surveys* was very wide as will be seen from the report which follows. Preliminary studies showed that lengthy interviews would be needed to cover all the ground. Councillors were very busy people and despite their obvious interest in the work of the Maud Committee it was difficult for them to find time. The subsequent final interviews clearly had to be arranged to suit their convenience and the length of the interview had to be fixed accordingly. Furthermore it became clear during the development phase of the survey that for some of our purposes it would be essential to put to a *sample of ex-councillors* most of the questions put to sitting councillors. If a wide range of topics were to be covered not much time could be made available for each. On some of the themes discussed in the report the questions asked are really too few and insufficiently detailed to permit an adequate examination. We feel that on such themes our material may help discussion to move forward a little but it is not in any way decisive. We hope that our report suggests questions which academic researchers and others will want to pursue much further.

In this report we have used the material from all three surveys and also, where relevant, some of the findings of the electors' survey. In the first chapter we describe the characteristics of councillors and bring out, by comparison with other data, the ways in which they differ from the general population. It might be objected that our ideas of government in Britain do not require that representatives should be identified directly with particular groups. They speak and act as individuals rather than delegates. The discussion of representation, however, generally concerns Parliament. The functions of Parliament and local authorities are very different. Local government by definition necessarily requires a closer connection between local representatives and the management of the services of a relatively small area; it is concerned only with local issues and not with such wide issues of state as defence or foreign affairs. The activities of local councils are specified by statute, and increasingly the work of local councils is concerned with improving the quality of living conditions and ameliorating the personal difficulties of individuals in their areas. For the writers it seems that these special features of local government, in contrast to central government, require personal experience of all the varied circumstances and opinions of the local electorate which are unlikely to be available if small sections of the population play a disproportionate role in local government. We have therefore made as many numerical comparisons as possible between our councillors and the electorate. In Chapter II we have described the recruitment process by which different kinds of councillors are brought into the work.

But such comparisons tell us little about 'the calibre' of councillors, an expression which occurs in the terms of reference of the Maud Committee. This expression can only mean the degree to which councillors have qualities which ensure the successful conduct of local government work. An operational definition of the term 'calibre' would require a statement of all the qualities needed for the efficient performance of all the functions of a public representative and acceptable ways of measuring these qualities. It may be that these requirements could be met after appropriate investigation. The application of efficiency measures to elected representatives would, however, be a path-breaking endeavour and even if it had been acceptable to the Committee it could not have been undertaken in addition to the other objectives of this survey within the time available. We have, then, nothing to say on the subject of the 'calibre' of councillors. Some of the characteristics of councillors which we have identified and described, however, might be thought to be connected with some possible definitions of calibre.

On the other hand we did set out to collect information about the work councillors now do. In particular, we have shown in Chapter III the ways in which they spend their time with special reference to the committee system. This may be considered the central feature of present-day council work. We have also tried to show how the burdens of the work, as measured by the time councillors spend on it, relate to opinions on the work and to decisions to give it up.

In Chapter IV we consider the satisfactions and frustrations of council work and in Chapter V attitudes towards some possible changes in the way the work is organised. The context of this discussion is, of course, very largely local government at the time of the Maud Committee, when there is much debate and indecision about the organisation and even the role of local government but with no clear indication of the lines along which reorganisation might proceed. The Maud Committee report makes some proposals for reorganising councillors' work but these are to appear after this report is written. A major reconstruction of the system will now, presumably, wait upon the recommendation of the new Royal Commissions on Local Government. It was not possible for us, therefore, to sound attitudes towards any generally accepted new organisational structure nor to investigate the effect reorganisation might have on recruitment.

We have tried instead to judge the pressures of the existing situation as felt by the existing body of councillors. A new organisation might well attract a somewhat different group of representatives whose attitudes towards a new situation could vary sharply from those we have found. It is well known that attitudes towards innovations in government frequently change after the event. In these chapters, then, we record what *is* in the hope that the knowledge might help to shape a more satisfactory situation. We are not predicting what the future situation or attitudes towards it will be.

Since councillors are public figures whose activities interlock at many points with those of other bodies and at all times with the interests of their electors we therefore thought it relevant to look in Chapters VI and VII at their connections with other organisations and, in particular, we look at some aspects of the role of party politics in local government. In Chapter VIII we discuss relationships between councillors and the public.

Introduction

In the early part of the report we looked at recruitment—what kind of people come in to local government and how they come into it. The following chapters were mainly concerned with experience as councillors. In Chapter IX we have brought together material from the different surveys which throws light on why councillors give up the work. The small survey of ex-councillors was specially useful in this connection.

Chapter X tries to draw together some of the many themes discussed in previous sections of the report and to set out some tentative conclusions.

4. The Samples: We have used three samples which interlock. In order to give a representative picture of all councillors we had to design samples which correctly represented all the different types of council and gave councillors an equal chance of being selected. For the postal survey we sampled one in ten of all councillors distributed amongst 200 local authority areas except for rural districts where we sampled one in twenty. For the interview we selected a sample of the sample chosen for the postal enquiry. For the ex-councillors, sample we asked Town Clerks of the 200 areas chosen for the main surveys to give us the names and addresses of all councillors or aldermen who had voluntarily given up council work in the preceding three years. In an appendix we show in detail how the samples were designed and the response rates achieved.

Councillors co-operated very well in these enquiries. The overall results of the fieldwork may be summarised as follows:

	<i>Completed Schedules</i>	<i>Response Rate %</i>
Postal enquiry	3,289	88
Councillors' interview	598	92
Ex-Councillors' interview ..	156	84

Since we sampled only one in twenty rural district councillors in the postal survey we had to weight the completed schedules so as to restore the correct proportions for our totals. A more complicated weighting scheme was necessary for the interview sample. As originally designed the interview sample did not cover rural district councillors because it was thought that rural areas differed from other areas in so many respects that the same questions would not be suitable. However, the Rural District Councils Association felt strongly that rural district councils should be included on the same basis as other areas, even if it meant that the standard interview designed for the other areas had to be used. Rural district councillors are a substantial proportion of all councillors. To cover them adequately meant that a sizeable part of what was, in any event, a small sample had to be allocated to them. This raised some problems which were solved only by using a weighting system. We took the largest numbers we could manage in each of the different types of area and then weighted the results to give an eventual distribution which represented the groups proportionately to their full strength. In order to provide large enough numbers for analysis we have combined the results obtained in the municipal boroughs and the urban districts throughout the analysis of the interview material. These two kinds of authority have similar functions, and the material in Chapter I shows that municipal borough and urban district councillors are closer to each other in

most of the characteristics examined than each of them is to any other type of councillor.

The number of completed schedules and the numbers which result from applying the weighting systems used are as follows:

	<i>Councillors' Postal</i>			<i>Councillors' Interview</i>			<i>Ex-councillors' Interview</i>		
	<i>Sample</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Weighted Nos.</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Weighted Nos.</i>	<i>Sample</i>	<i>Weight</i>	<i>Weighted Nos.</i>
County ..	470	1	470	152	1	152	23	1	23
County Boroughs ..	439	1	439	134	1	134	42	1	42
Metropolitan Boroughs ..	139	1	139	46	1	46	14	2	28
Municipal Boroughs ..	717	1	717	72	3	216	27	4	108
Urban Districts ..	843	1	843	89	3	267	18	4	72
Rural Districts ..	681	2	1,362	105	4	420	32	4	128
Total ..	3,289		3,970	598		1,235	156		401

All tables in the report are based on weighted figures and the total, 'all councils', columns in every case are representative of all types of authority in their true proportions. It will be seen, throughout the report, that circumstances and attitudes in the rural districts are very different from those in most other types of authority. There are very many rural district councillors and consequently they influence, markedly, the total situation in most of the fields we have investigated. We have therefore in every section of this report begun an analysis by contrasting the situation in the different types of authority and in this way drawing attention to the part played by the rural districts.

The postal survey was carried out in November and December 1964. Councillors and ex-councillors were interviewed in the period January–March 1965.

5. Metropolitan Boroughs: The survey was designed and carried out after the reorganisation of local government in London had been decided but before it had been put into operation. Whatever councillors told us would inevitably be coloured by the forthcoming changes and clearly there was no way of anticipating the effects of the major changes in function which were to take place. On the other hand to have left the London area out altogether would have made a large gap in the picture we wanted to draw of the local government councillor in 1964-65. Furthermore our survey did provide the last opportunity of providing some record of an historical phase of local government and it would make available a base line against which some of the effects of the changes could be set by any who might in future want to appraise them. It also became clear during the early phases of our work that a large proportion of the councillors in the London area who gave us information would also serve in the new authorities. We therefore decided to make our sample completely representative of all councillors and to include members of both the London County Council and of the metropolitan boroughs.

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6. The limitations imposed by time have been explained above. They inevitably limit the range of our conclusions. We hope nevertheless that what we are able to say about the local government councillor of today will make a useful contribution to the process of research, discussion and decision out of which will emerge the local government organisation of tomorrow.

We must acknowledge, with gratitude, the help we have received from very many people in carrying out this survey. First of all, of course, we thank councillors all over the country who completed our postal questionnaire and who gave hours of their very limited private time in interviews. The Clerks of the authorities in our sample helped us to contact councillors and ex-councillors. The Chairman and members of the Maud Committee, many academic workers on problems of local government, and officials of the local government associations gave us patient hearing and made many suggestions for which we are grateful. They made the work easier and we hope more fruitful. They are in no way responsible for any of its shortcomings.

Survey research is not a matter for the isolated researcher. It is only possible with the co-operation of a team each member of which makes an essential contribution. The samples for the study were designed by Judith Stokes, the fieldwork was supervised and organised by Jean Atkinson, the coding was organised by Douglas Stuart, Paul Softley and Steve Turner. Helen Lewid devised ways of producing the analyses for which we asked, Gary Onstan assisted with the editorial work. Without these and other members of the staff of the Government Social Survey this work could not have been done. And without the careful, persistent attention of Marjorie Goldschmidt to the processes by which a manuscript is turned into a report this document would not have been produced.

Summary of Conclusions

Characteristics and Recruitment of Councillors

1. *How representative is local government?* The direct responsibility of local government for services designed to meet the needs of many sections of the population can only be effectively discharged if people with first-hand knowledge of all sections of the community are represented on councils. We find, however, that in some respects councillors differ widely from the general population. They are much older on average. Only one-fifth of male councillors are under the age of 45. More than half are over 55. Only 12% are women. The proportion of councillors who are employers and managers of small businesses or farmers is four times that of these groups in the general population. On the other hand, manual workers, who form more than half of the male population over 25 are numerically very under-represented on councils.
2. Councillors are somewhat better educated than the general population. Forty-four per cent had only elementary education or no formal qualifications, compared with about 70% of the general population. Fifteen per cent of councillors have had some form of further education. Amongst MPs 53% were in this position in 1964.
3. Mobility is sometimes said to deter people from becoming councillors, but even among the most mobile groups of the general population (the professionals, the better educated, and the young) a majority have remained in their town of residence for the past ten years. There are, then, many in these groups who could participate in local government if they wished to do so.
4. Many councillors have only short experience of council work; at the end of 1964 48% had first served on their council in 1958 or later. Many who have served three years or less are over 55 years of age.
5. Our constitutional guarantee of representative government is free elections, but thirty-eight per cent of all councillors were returned unopposed. Another 11% were appointed as aldermen, chairmen or mayors by their fellow councillors. In rural districts 69% were returned unopposed. Over half of all small businessmen and farmer councillors were returned unopposed. The chances of councillors fighting an election fall off sharply after 10 years' service.
6. *How do councillors come into council work?* About a third of all councillors were first brought into touch with council work, or asked to stand, by political parties. Twenty-eight per cent of councillors came into contact with council work through trade union, religious or welfare groups but only about 10% were *invited to stand* by such bodies. On the other hand 35% of councillors were invited to stand by private people or in other informal ways.
7. The large part played by such informal means of recruitment has a major effect on the composition of councils and in particular helps to explain the heavy representation of the employers and managers in smaller businesses. Changes in the composition of councils may require changes in the channels of recruit-

Summary of Conclusions

ment and perhaps closer connections between councils and the many voluntary organisations with parallel interests.

8. Nearly half of all councillors said they did not know much about the work of a councillor when they first stood. Only a fifth had given much thought to getting on the council when they were first asked to stand.

9. There are substantial differences in the characteristics of members of different types of council. For example, we find major differences between county boroughs on the one hand and rural districts and counties on the other. So far as councillors are concerned, therefore, local government at present cannot be considered a unity but rather as composed of widely varying elements. Any reorganisation or changes in procedure may be expected then to have different effects in different types of authority.

10. Similarly we find that there are consistent differences between younger and older councillors. If as a result of changes in local government more younger councillors were to be brought in, this might be expected to raise the general educational and income level and the willingness to fight elections. At present it is the political parties who bring in a substantial proportion of younger people.

11. In contrast to the findings of the survey, over three-quarters of all councillors feel that their councils provide a good cross-section of the people in their areas. However, two-thirds of all councillors agree that there is difficulty in getting the 'right kind of candidates'.

Council Experience

12. *How much time do councillors spend on their public work?* On average councillors spend about 52 hours a month on all their public activities. Less than a quarter of this time is spent actually sitting in council or committees. But there are big differences between councillors. County borough and manual worker councillors spend much more time than the average on their public work and small employer and farmer councillors spend much less. A reduction in council and committee meeting time would be likely to help most the county borough and county councillors and to help least the rural district councillors, because the latter spend less time on existing committee work.

13. On average councillors are members of about six committees. Only a small minority have very many committees. The times at which committees meet are related to the kind of councillor who attends, so that by setting meeting times councils are, to a considerable extent, deciding who can attend. Over 40% of all committee meetings take place in the morning or afternoon. Small businessmen and farmers are more likely than others to attend morning and afternoon meetings. Older councillors are more likely to attend morning and afternoon meetings. Younger councillors are more likely to attend evening meetings.

14. About one-seventh of the councillor's public time on average is spent with electors but about a half of all councillors spend less than 5 hours a month on electors' problems. A small minority, however, spend 20 or more hours a month on electors.

15. *How do councillors feel about their council work?* In the opinion of councillors their councils had done most 'to help people and improve things' in 1964 by their work on housing, the public utility services and town planning. Housing was put high in the order of importance in all kinds of authority except county councils who put education first. The rural districts put work on developing public utilities first.

16. Councillors' main satisfactions arise out of particular council activities, amongst which housing and old people's welfare are prominent. In contrast the frustrations of councillors' work arise mainly out of the way the machinery of local government works. Only 8% of councillors mentioned party politics as a cause of frustration.

17. There are discrepancies between what councillors feel about the work of their councils and their own part in it. Whilst 28% thought housing was the *council's* biggest contribution only 13% put housing as their biggest *personal* contribution. Nearly half of the younger councillors thought that their councils had helped people most by work on housing and education, but only 13% of this group felt that these committee activities had been their own most effective areas. About 30% of all council committee time was spent on activities where councillors thought they had been most effective personally and 42% on committees where, on balance, they felt they had been personally least effective.

18. About one-third of all councillors said that their private lives had suffered in some ways as a result of their council work. Three-quarters said that their private lives had not been affected or had been helped by their council work and two-thirds of working councillors said that their relations with people in their daily work had not been affected by council activities. On the other hand, three-quarters of all councillors said that being a councillor had given them an opportunity of using abilities which otherwise would not have been used.

19. County borough councillors appear to get most satisfaction out of their council work and rural district councillors to be less involved in it. When we asked if councillors found council work or their daily occupation more satisfying nearly two-thirds of manual worker councillors said that they found council work more satisfying but only 13% of large and small employers or professionals. For many councillors council work is clearly often a means of obtaining satisfactions not available in their daily occupations.

20. Most councillors feel that their councils are making full use of their present powers. Over 40%, however, feel that more powers are needed or that the central government puts unnecessary limitations on councils.

21. Our results show that the time put into council work, the satisfactions and frustrations it produces and the opportunities it offers are very different for different types of councillor. It follows that the motivations for serving on councils are equally varied. Reorganisation, then, would produce different effects in these different groups and it might affect recruitment by bringing in sections of the population with rather different motivations from those of many present councillors. Until the details of a reorganised system were known and the changed responsibilities it might entail, it would be impossible to say how it would appeal to people who have so far not worked in local government.

Summary of Conclusions

22. *Do councillors feel that councils do enough for people?* A small majority felt that councils were now doing enough but about 45% of all councillors and 60% of county borough councillors thought that more should be done.

23. *How could time be found for these extra activities?* Most councillors thought that it could only mean even longer hours than they now put in. A minority (20%) thought that time could be found by changing existing procedures. Higher proportions of some groups, however, were in favour of specific proposals for change. Forty-three per cent of county borough councillors, for example, thought that time could be found for extra work if more details were left to officials. It must be recognised that councillors' views might not remain the same if some changes were set in motion. We have recorded here what they now feel and not what they would feel under changed circumstances.

24. A majority of councillors thought that the present system of payment for loss of earnings, subsistence and so on was adequate although many would like to see some changes in this respect. Two-thirds of all councillors did *not* think that councillors should be paid. This was chiefly because they did not believe that payment would attract good or better qualified people.

25. About half of all councillors thought there should be a retiring age for councillors and three-quarters thought there should be a limit to the time anybody could be chairman of council or mayor.

26. Most councillors did not feel that the presence of aldermen had much effect on the standing of councils or their work or the willingness of people to stand. These views were shared by the majority of aldermen.

Councillors and their Public Relationships

27. Councillors spend an average of about 21 hours a month on other organisations. While much of this is regarded as 'part of the work of a councillor' the rest is in connection with private interests. Councillors belong on average to between six and seven organisations and some to very many more. Only a small part of their memberships is of political organisations and trade unions.

28. Councillors see more advantages than disadvantages in using voluntary organisations to meet new and developing needs. They think that voluntary organisations are most suitable for particular services such as those for old people, youth clubs, recreational facilities and help for handicapped people. Although such organisations play a part in bringing people into touch with council work they do not sponsor very many councillors at present.

29. *What part does party politics play in local government? How essential is it to the system which now operates?* There are big differences in the extent to which councillors are involved in political organisations. Ninety-five per cent of county borough councillors are members of political parties but only about half of rural district councillors. Over 70% of rural district councillors describe themselves as 'independent' and so do nearly two-thirds of the smaller employers and farmers. Manual worker councillors, on the other hand, to an overwhelming extent think of themselves as politically organised.

30. According to the views expressed by councillors party politics plays a much smaller part in local government than is widely assumed and their views are supported by those of ex-councillors who no longer have the same kind of commitments. Three-quarters of all councillors said they did not think that party politics affected the work of their council very much. The extent to which councillors are themselves involved in party politics of course influences their views on how party politics affects the work of councils. County borough councillors were much more likely than others to say that the work was affected but only 16% of all councillors made critical comments about the effects of party politics on the work of councils.

31. Only a quarter of all councillors thought that the need for party support affected the kinds of candidates chosen. On balance more thought it improved the chances of good candidates. Asked if there was anything which might make them give up the work only 4% of all councillors mentioned the effects of party politics.

32. There are major differences between the views of different kinds of councillors on whether the party system is essential in local government or if the work could be better done without it. Eighty-nine per cent of rural district councillors, for example, most of whom are returned unopposed, thought the work could be done better without the party system. Only 24% of county borough councillors agreed with this view. Excluding the rural districts, just under half of the remaining councillors thought the work could be better done without the party system. Manual worker councillors were the only group with a majority in favour of the party system. Small employers and farmers had the largest majority against. As a group, councillors who think party politics essential are likely to be the keener members of councils. Many of those councillors who are most opposed to party politics put in much less time than others on council work or with their electors.

33. *How do councillors feel about their relationships with the public?* Whilst most councillors feel that only a few people have very unfavourable attitudes most of them also feel that the public is not very interested in council work. It is not clear whether there is a real lack of interest or a failure of communication which results in the public feeling that it does not know very clearly what its councils are doing. Perhaps because of ignorance there are big differences between the opinions of councillors and the more interested section of the public on what council work has been of most help to people or on what problems most need council attention.

34. Many councillors do not have a large number of direct personal contacts with electors. Most of their contacts in their role of councillor are informal. Nearly a third of all councillors had such official and personal contact with four or fewer electors during the four weeks before the survey.

35. Because of these very limited contacts and gaps in knowledge on both sides of the democratic equation it is not surprising that many councillors and electors feel that electors do not know enough either to make full use of council services or to form a balanced picture of what councils are doing.

36. It seems clear that much better communication between councillors and

Summary of Conclusions

electors is essential if public interest in local government is to reach a higher level. This is necessary both for the assurance and support it will give councillors and because it would then become more possible for the whole system to fulfil the purpose for which it exists.

Leaving the Council

37. From information collected about ex-councillors we have worked out the rates at which different kinds of councillors give up the work (turnover rates). About 6% give up the work each year.

38. A much higher proportion of those under 45 than might be expected appear to give up the work very quickly. Professionals and employed people have a higher than average turnover rate but workers in nationalised industries or public bodies, those who are not working full-time and those with relatively low income levels have a low turnover rate. Manual worker councillors frequently say they intend to remain and actually do remain. The opposite applies to the employers and managers in the larger businesses and professionals.

39. A very high proportion of ex-councillors have served only a short time. Over half of those who had given up in the period July 1961-June 1964 had served for the first time in 1958 or after and of these nearly half were under 45.

40. *Do people give up the work because of the time involved?* The time actually spent on council work seems to be relevant to turnover only in a negative way. The members of county and county borough councils, who spend most time on the work, have the lowest turnover rate. Manual workers, whose turnover is lowest, spend more time than other socio-economic groups. It looks as if it is not the time he actually spends but the time he is *prepared* to give to the work which determines whether an individual stays on or leaves the council.

41. *Why do councillors give up the work?* Because of councillors' high average age it is to be expected that very many will give up the work because of old age or ill-health and about one-third of ex-councillors said that they had given up for these reasons. Another third said that they gave up because of the time involved, or, what might amount to the same thing, financial, business or domestic reasons. About 40% of ex-councillors who are under the age of 65 gave 'the time involved' or 'family/business' reasons. In contrast to the two-thirds who said they had given up because of such personal circumstances, about 21% said they were frustrated with 'the system'; 8% because of frustrations with party politics and 13% because of other aspects of the organisation of local government work. Only a small proportion of ex-councillors, then, cited party politics as their reason for giving up the work. It did not seem to be a major irritant or cause for dissatisfaction. However, frustrations with 'the system' account for more than one-third of ex-councillors who have served three years or less. These short-service councillors were more likely than existing councillors to think that insufficient time had been available for the work or that proper weight had not been given to all points of view in the council deliberations. They were, then, more unhappy about their council experience than other ex-councillors.

42. Many of those councillors who have given up the work were less prepared for it and had taken less trouble than others to equip themselves for it. For one

reason or another many people become councillors who do not have a close acquaintance with the work and the realities quickly prove to be very different from their expectations and their capabilities. These people contribute disproportionately to the turnover rate. They are likely to be under the age of 45.

43. It may be that newer councillors have been too impatient to acquire the necessary knowledge, or perhaps better procedures for integrating new councillors into the council work are needed to help the young or inexperienced to work their way into it gradually. Clearly, difficulties with personal relationships play a big part in making some councillors give up. It may be that many of those who go on to councils have not considered sufficiently well beforehand how they would manage the many-sided relationships involved in working as a councillor. Procedures for making clear to intending councillors how the system works or for helping newer councillors to find their feet might make a substantial contribution to keeping some of the younger councillors in the work.

44. Those who had given up council work did not appear to be very much more upset by existing council procedures than sitting councillors. Almost as many would be against as in favour of changes in procedures. It was not, then, on this score that the work was given up but rather because it encroached on private interests.

45. Those who had given up the work appear to be much more satisfied than sitting councillors with the present range of council activities. It is rather the younger and newer councillors, whether still on the council or having left it, who seemed to feel that councils need to be more active than they are at present.

46. The feeling that there is a low level of public interest in council work does not appear to have played a very significant part in causing people to give up council work.

47. Both councillors and ex-councillors thought that the feature of local government which most put people off standing for office was the time involved. The effect on income or occupation was thought to be the second most important reason and party politics came lower down the list.

CHAPTER I

Some Characteristics of the Local Government Councillor

A necessary starting point in any examination of the activities of 'people in local government' is to provide a description of councillors as they now are and to show how they resemble or differ from the populations which they serve. A complete description might go into very many details of the personality, origin and circumstances of councillors all of which could, no doubt, be shown to have relevance to what councillors do and how they do it. For reasons given in the Introduction this report has more limited aims and the present chapter shows only some of the characteristics of the councillors of 1964.

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

Age and Sex

Table 1.1 gives the age and sex of all councillors. In each column the percentage on the left relates to our councillors, the column on the right to the general population. It will be seen that councillors are older than the general population. Thus 5% of male councillors are between the ages of 21 and 34 whereas 27% of the general male population are in this group. Similarly over half our male councillors are over the age of 55 but only 31% of the general male population are over this age.

TABLE 1.1
Comparison of councillors with general population*—
by age and sex

Percentages in each age group

Age	Men		Women	
	%	% †	%	% †
21-24	5	(8)	2	(7)
25-34	5	(19)	2	(17)
35-44	16	(21)	13	(19)
45-54	26	(21)	23	(20)
55-64	30	(17)	37	(17)
65-69	11	(6)	11	(7)
70-74	7	(4)	8	(6)
75 and over ..	4	(4)	5	(7)
Not answered	1	—	1	—
Total ..	100	(100)	100	(100)
(Numbers) ..	(3,480)		(490)	

*Source = Census 1961.

†Less than 0.5%.

The age distribution of male and female councillors is fairly similar but there is a tendency for women councillors to be somewhat older than the men. Sixty-one per cent of women councillors are over the age of 55 whereas 52% of men

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councillors are over this age. But this difference between male and female councillors is to some extent also true of the general population, simply because women live longer than men.

About 12% of all councillors are women. Over 50% of the general adult population are women so that women are very under-represented on local authorities. The proportion of councillors who are women ranges from about 5% aged 25-34 to about 13% of those over 65 years of age. The disproportion of males and females when we compared councillors with the general population is general amongst all types of councils.

The great majority of councillors are married but whilst the proportion of male councillors who are single, separated or widowed (9%) is less than that amongst the general male population (22%), the proportion of female councillors in the same category is nearly the same as in the general female population.

Age by Council Type

Table 1.2 compares the age distributions of councillors in different council types. The sharpest difference which emerges from this table is that councillors in rural districts and county councils are more likely to be over the age of 65 and much less likely to be under the age of 44 than other councillors. Nearly 70% of county councillors and nearly 60% of rural district councillors are over the age of 55. This contrasts with urban districts (47%), municipal boroughs (47%), metropolitan boroughs (43%), and county boroughs (48%). Nearly a third of those in metropolitan boroughs were, at the time of the survey, under the age of 44.

Information from another survey permits a comparison between the ages of councillors and company directors. About the same proportion of councillors as directors are under the age of 45 but rather more councillors are over 65 years of age. The larger companies have rather fewer over 65 than all companies or councillors but more between 45 and 65 years.

TABLE 1.2
Age of councillors—by council type

Age	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
Up to 34 ..	% 4	% 1	% 6	% 12	% 6	% 6	% 3
35-44 ..	15	8	20	21	19	17	13
45-54 ..	26	21	26	23	28	30	24
55-64 ..	31	35	29	25	29	32	32
65 and over ..	23	34	19	18	18	15	27
Not answered ..	1	1	*	1	*	*	1
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)
Average age (yrs.)	55.0	59.5	53.6	50.8	53.2	52.7	56.6

*Less than 0.5%

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

TABLE 1.3
Comparison of councillors with directors—by age

Age	Councillors	All directors ¹	Large company ² directors
	%	%	%
21-34	4	4	} 17
35-44	15	17	
45-54	26	31	
55-64	31	34	
65 and over	23	13	7
Not answered	1	1	—
Total	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(10,000)	(324)
Average age (yrs.)	55	54	53

Note: Informants in the sample of the survey¹ of all directors published in the January 1965 issue of 'The Director' were all members of the Institute of Directors. Those in the readership survey² carried out by Market Investigations Ltd. for The Thomson Organisation Ltd. were selected on the basis of representing public companies proportionate to size of assets, which means that more directors of very large companies were included than in the other sample of directors.

Households and Housing

Table 1.4 shows the housing situation of all councillors. Councillors are much *more* likely than the general population to be owner-occupiers. They are *less* likely to be living in property owned by the local authority. It will be seen that there are considerable differences between members of different types of council in this respect. Metropolitan borough councillors were much more likely to be living in rented property than other councillors but this probably reflects the differences between the general housing situation in the London area and that in the rest of the country. Apart from this, councillors in county councils and rural districts are much less likely than other councillors to be living in council owned property.

TABLE 1.4
Type of accommodation—by council type

	All councils		Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Muni-cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	Cls. %	Els. %	%	%	%	%	%	%
Own property (including mortgaged) ..	66	48	71	60	31	67	68	71
Rented (private)	16	23	16	12	44	13	12	18
Rented (council or new town corporation)	16	26	9	26	23	19	17	7
Rent free ..	2	3	3	2	1	1	3	4
Not answered ..	*	—	1	*	1	*	*	*
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers of councillors) ..	(3,970)		(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)
(Numbers of electors) ..	(2,184)							

*Less than 0.5%.

Cls. = Councillors.

Els. = Electors.

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Household Characteristics

The size of councillors' households is very similar to that of the general population except that there are rather fewer 1 person households and slightly more 2 person households. This is probably a reflection of the fact that rather fewer of our councillors are widowed or separated than is the case in the general population.

Eighty-seven per cent of our councillors live in households where there are no children under school age—a rather higher proportion than among the general population. Two-thirds of both councillors and electors live in households where there are no children receiving full-time education.

The majority of councillors are in households where 1 or more persons are in paid employment, although the proportion is not quite as high as among the general population.

TABLE 1.5

Household characteristics—by number of individuals in household

		Total (Numbers)	Number of individuals:		
			0	1	2 or more
Number of children under school age ..	Councillors	100 (3,970)	%	%	%
	Electors	100 (2,184)	87	9	4
Number of children receiving full-time education ..	Councillors	100 (3,970)	67	16	17
	Electors	100 (2,184)	68	16	16
Number of persons in household in paid employment ..	Councillors	100 (3,970)	19	45	36
	Electors	100 (2,184)	16	40	44

EMPLOYMENT, OCCUPATION AND INCOME

Employment

All our councillors were asked to tell us about their employment situation and to describe their paid occupations. Those who were retired or housewives were asked to give their last main occupation when working.

Table 1.6 shows the employment situation of all councillors. Nearly two-thirds of all councillors at the time of the survey could be considered as working full time in paid occupations. Twenty per cent were retired. Both these proportions are higher than in the general population. On the other hand the proportion of councillors who are housewives, part-time workers or who have never worked is much less (13%) than it is in the general population (42%).

Over a third of county councillors are retired. This is a much higher proportion than in any other type of council. There is a smaller proportion of full-time workers (over 30 hours a week) amongst county councillors than elsewhere.

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

TABLE 1.6
Employment situation—by council type

	All councils		Counties	County boroughs		Metro-politan boroughs		Muni-cipal boroughs		Urban districts		Rural districts	
	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %
Usually work over 30 hrs. a week ..	66	51	46	68	52	76	56	71	49	73	51	63	50
Usually work, but 30 hrs. a week or less ..	5	9	9	7	10	6	11	5	10	4	8	4	7
Housewife—not working ..	7	27	8	8	25	6	23	7	26	7	27	6	31
Never in paid employment ..	1	6	2	—	4	1	7	*	6	*	6	1	8
Retired ..	20	7	34	16	9	10	3	16	8	16	7	24	3
Not answered ..	1	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	1	*	1	2	1
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers of councillors) ..	(3,970)		(470)	(439)		(139)		(717)		(843)		(1,362)	
(Numbers of electors) ..	(2,184)			(629)		(131)		(540)		(448)		(436)	

*Less than 0.5%. *Cls.* = Councillors. *Els.* = Electors.

Over a quarter of all councillors were at the time of the survey or before retirement employed in a nationalised industry or some public body. This is very similar to the situation in the general population. The proportions employed either in private or public industry do not differ very much between the different council types.

The employment situation, of course, varies with age. Only over the age of 54 does the proportion of retired councillors become appreciable. It is 14% of those aged 58–64 and two-thirds of those 65 or over.

Occupation

We have classified the information given us by councillors about their occupations and industry in the same way as the Registrar General classifies information collected during the Census of Population. The Registrar General uses a classification by 'Socio-Economic Groups'. Allocation to these groups 'is determined by considering their employment status and occupation'. This classification is by no means ideal. It will be seen from Table 1.7 that some of the groups in the classification are industrial groups, e.g., farmers or members of the armed forces, whereas most of the other groups are derived from a description of the type of work done or of status in industry, e.g., employers and managers compared with own account workers. Further, although the title of the classification is 'Socio-Economic Group' no information is collected by the Registrar General about incomes or earnings. The assignment to the categories in the

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classification, therefore, depends mostly on the nature of the work done and the position held in the place of employment. Nevertheless, despite these limitations of the classification it was thought useful to classify all our councillors in the same way as the Registrar General classifies the population so that we could see to what extent the different sections of the population are represented amongst councillors. If councillors were retired or housewives they were asked to give their last main occupation when working.

In Table 1.7 we show how *male councillors over the age of 25* fall into the socio-economic groups used for the Census. The left-hand column gives the proportion of all males aged 25 and over who fall into the groups given. In the right-hand column of Table 1.7 we show how our councillors are distributed when grouped in the same way. We have already shown that our councillors are rather older than the general population and, therefore, we have re-weighted the information about the general population so as to show how they would fall into the socio-economic groups if the general population had the same age distribution as our councillors. The re-weighted distribution for the general population is given in the centre column. The comparison is not greatly affected by this re-weighting but the centre column and the right-hand column, when compared, enable a true comparison to be made between the socio-economic groups of our councillors and of the general population.

It is commonly asserted that too few people with professional or managerial experience become councillors. If we take the first, third and fourth groups we have about 7% of the general population who are either professional workers or employers and managers in large establishments, i.e. those enterprises employing 25 or more people. Amongst our councillors 19% fall into these three categories.

Our largest single group of councillors is in the second category. These are the employers and managers of small businesses and this includes many shop owners. Twenty per cent of our councillors fall into this category and this is almost three times as big a proportion as is to be found in the general population.

Our next largest category of councillors consists of farmers who employ others or who are the managers of farms. This group is very heavily over-represented amongst councillors. If we take the employers and managers in small businesses together with farmers who are employers of others or managers, we find they come to more than a third of all our councillors. If we also include farmers working on their own account, and not employing others, we get no fewer than 36% of our councillors as compared with only 9% of the general population falling into these three categories. That is to say, this group of persons is over-represented four times amongst our councillors.

In contrast to these very heavily over-represented groups it will be seen that 11% of our councillors are skilled manual workers, whereas in the general population 26% falls into this category. The semi-skilled and unskilled manual workers are even more severely under-represented amongst councillors.

Table 1.7 relates only to male councillors over the age of 25. Very few of our councillors are under the age of 25. In Table 1.8 we give on the right-hand side separate figures for the occupations of our female councillors. It will be seen that over a quarter of all female councillors have never been gainfully employed.

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

TABLE 1.7
Comparison of our respondents with general population—
by socio-economic group (males 25 and over)

	General population	General population (weighted†)	Councillor respondents
	%	%	%
1 Employers and managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc.—with 25 or more subordinates	4	4	11
2 Employers and managers in industry, commerce, etc.—with under 25 subordinates ..	7	7	20
3 Professional workers—self-employed	1	1	4
4 Professional workers—employees	3	2	4
5 Intermediate non-manual workers	4	4	8
6 Junior non-manual workers	12	12	9
7 Personal service workers	1	1	*
8 Foremen and supervisors—manual	4	4	4
9 Skilled manual workers	28	26	11
10 Semi-skilled manual workers	15	15	5
11 Unskilled manual workers	8	9	1
12 Own account workers (other than professional)	4	5	2
13 Farmers—employers and managers	1	1	14
14 Farmers—own account	1	1	2
15 Agricultural workers	2	2	*
16 Members of armed forces	1	1	2
17 Never gainfully employed†	1	1	*
18 Indefinite and not answered	3	4	3
Total	100	100	100
(All male councillors over 25)			(3,471)

*Less than 0.5%.

†I.e. the percentages of the population in each socio-economic group are recalculated as if the general population has the same age distribution as our councillors.

‡For general population this includes † persons not stating a present or former economic activity; our councillors had to tick a box 'never gainfully employed' and this may account for some of the difference.

Note. In some of the tables presented later in this report the above 18 socio-economic groups are combined into 5 categories to provide adequate numbers for statistical purposes. These larger combinations of socio-economic groups and their equivalents in terms of the above table are:

Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates and professionals (1, 3, 4).

Employers and managers with less than 25 subordinates and farmers (2, 13, 14).

Non-manual and own account non-professionals (5, 6, 7, 12).

Manual and agricultural workers (8, 9, 10, 11, 15).

Residual (16, 17, 18)—the figures for this group are not shown in the tables.

The next largest category is the group described by the Registrar General as 'intermediate non-manual workers'. These include teachers, other than those at universities or colleges; social welfare and related workers who do not have university level qualifications; assistants and technicians in laboratories, computing organisations and so on. The next largest category amongst our female councillors are described as 'junior non-manual workers' and this includes telephone operators, secretarial workers, or other office machine operators, some civil servants, shop assistants and others engaged in some sales functions. Thirty-eight per cent of all female councillors are either 'junior non-manual' or 'intermediate non-manual' workers. There are relatively few women councillors who are described as managers in large firms or as professional workers.

TABLE 1.8
Socio-economic group of councillors—by age and sex

	Males						Females
	All age groups	Under 35	35-44	45-54	55-65	Over 65	All age groups
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1 Employers and managers in central and local government, industry, commerce, etc.—with 25 or more subordinates	11	6	10	12	11	12	2
2 Employers and managers in industry, commerce, etc.—with under 25 subordinates ..	20	19	14	24	22	18	11
3 Professional workers — self-employed ..	4	7	5	6	4	3	1
4 Professional workers—employees ..	4	9	6	3	3	3	2
5 Intermediate non-manual workers ..	8	16	9	8	6	7	21
6 Junior non-manual workers ..	9	9	13	7	9	9	17
7 Personal service workers ..	*	—	*	—	—	*	4
8 Foremen and supervisors ..	4	3	4	4	4	3	*
9 Skilled manual workers ..	11	14	15	12	11	5	2
10 Semi-skilled manual workers	5	5	6	5	5	6	2
11 Unskilled manual workers ..	1	—	*	1	1	1	1
12 Own account workers (other than professional) ..	2	1	1	1	2	2	1
13 Farmers—employers and managers ..	14	9	12	14	14	18	3
14 Farmers—own account ..	2	—	3	1	3	2	*
15 Agricultural workers ..	*	—	—	—	*	*	1
16 Members of armed forces ..	2	—	*	1	2	3	—
17 Never gainfully employed ..	*	—	—	*	*	3	28†
18 Indefinite and not answered ..	3	2	2	1	3	5	4
Total ..	100	100‡	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,480)§	(170)	(549)	(912)	(1,050)	(780)	(490)

*Less than 0.5%.

†Including housewives and other women who have never been gainfully employed.

‡Because of the small numbers in this age group, the percentages in each socio-economic group must be taken as approximate.

§The total of males includes 19 who did not give their age.

Table 1.8 also gives the age distribution of male councillors falling into the different socio-economic groups. It will be seen that a larger proportion of the younger age groups than other groups are professional workers. Sixteen per cent of those who are 35 or under fell into these groups compared with 6% or 7% in the older groups. The intermediate non-manual workers, too, form a larger proportion of the youngest age group than others, and so do the skilled manual workers. Fifteen per cent of the 35-44 age group fall into this last category but only 5% of the oldest age group. Farmers and those described as employers and managers in the larger businesses are more heavily represented amongst the older age groups than in the younger.

In Table 1.9 we show how councillors in the different types of councils are distributed among the various socio-economic groups. If we take the first,

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

third and fourth groups, that is to say, those who are either professional workers or employers and managers of large businesses, it will be seen that these seem to be fairly well represented in most types of councils. The employers and managers of small businesses are somewhat more heavily represented in the municipal boroughs and urban districts than they are in other types of councils. Farmers are very heavily represented on county councils and, of course, on the rural district councils. If we take these last two groups together (employers and managers of small businesses and farmers), we find that they represent 46% of all rural district councillors and 31% of county councillors.

It was pointed out in the comment on Table 1.7 that the groups of manual workers were very much under-represented in general. It will be seen that there are quite large differences in the representation of these groups in different councils. Only 8% of rural district councillors fall into these two groups but 24% of county borough councillors and substantial proportions of municipal borough and urban district councillors also fall into these two categories.

Finally, it is noticeable that the two groups described as 'intermediate non-manual' or 'junior non-manual', are much more heavily represented among metropolitan borough councillors than other kinds of councillors, although the county boroughs and the municipal boroughs also have a fairly heavy representation of these groups in contrast to the counties and the rural districts.

TABLE 1.9
Socio-economic group of councillors—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Muni- cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
1 Employers and managers— with 25 or more subordinates	10	13	14	9	11	10	8
2 Employers and managers— with under 25 subordinates	19	16	15	17	23	24	16
3 Professional workers—self- employed	4	6	2	4	2	3	4
4 Professional workers— employees	3	3	4	4	4	4	3
5 Intermediate non-manual ..	9	9	12	17	11	11	6
6 Junior non-manual ..	10	7	16	19	15	11	5
7 Personal service workers ..	1	*	1	1	1	1	*
8 Foremen and supervisors— manual	3	3	5	1	4	6	2
9 Skilled manual	10	6	16	11	15	11	6
10 Semi-skilled manual ..	5	7	6	6	6	9	2
11 Unskilled manual ..	1	1	2	1	*	1	*
12 Own account workers— other than professional ..	2	1	2	—	2	3	1
13 Farmers—employers and managers	13	15	*	—	1	2	30
14 Farmers—own account ..	2	1	—	—	—	—	5
15 Agricultural workers ..	*	*	—	—	—	*	*
16 Members of armed forces ..	2	3	*	—	*	*	3
17 Never gainfully employed	3	4	2	4	3	3	5
18 Indefinite and not answered	3	5	3	6	2	1	4
Total .. (Numbers)	100 (3,970)	100 (470)	100 (439)	100 (139)	100 (717)	100 (843)	100 (1,362)

*Less than 0.5%.

Table 1.10 compares the socio-economic classification of councillors with that of Members of Parliament.

The information available does not permit an exact comparison, since we have much more detailed information about councillors than about MPs. But there is clearly a much larger proportion of councillors than MPs who are employers and managers in large or small businesses. On the other hand there is a very much larger proportion of MPs who are professional or 'intermediate non-manual' workers. This latter group, it will be remembered, includes such people as teachers other than those at universities or colleges, welfare workers without university level qualifications, technical assistants in laboratories and so on. Amongst councillors 19% are manual workers, skilled, semi-skilled or unskilled. Amongst MPs the same groups amount to 15% of the total.

It is worth noting that 41% of MPs in the 1964 Parliament had been councillors (Butler and King, *op. cit.* p. 237—see * below).

TABLE 1.10
Comparison of councillors with MPs (1964)—
by socio-economic group

	Councillors %	All MPs*
1 Employers and managers—with 25 or more subordinates	10	} 11
2 Employers and managers—with under 25 subordinates	19	
3/4 Professional workers	7	} 51
5 Intermediate non-manual	9	
6 Junior non-manual	10	} 4
8 Foremen and supervisors—manual	3	
9 Skilled manual	10	} 7
10 Semi-skilled manual	5	
11 Unskilled manual	1	} 8
12 Own account workers—other than professional	2	
13 Farmers—employers and managers	13	} 6
14 Farmers—own account	2	
16 Members of armed forces	2	5
17 Never gainfully employed	3	2
18 Indefinite and not answered	4	6
Total	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(630)

*Based on figures derived from *The British General Election of 1964* by D. E. Butler and A. King (Macmillan & Co.).

The descriptions of the MPs' 'first or formative' occupations as described by Butler and King have been fitted as closely as possible into the socio-economic groups used to describe councillors. 'Employers and managers' include small businessmen, company directors, and executives. 'Professional workers' include barristers, solicitors, doctors, architects, engineers, chartered secretaries, journalists, teachers, and ministers of religion: of these professional and intermediate non-manual workers amongst MPs 40% are barristers or solicitors, 18% teachers, 14% publicists or journalists.

'Non-manual workers' include employees in commerce, insurance, etc. 'Never gainfully employed' include housewives and those with private means. 'Indefinite' includes those described as Civil Servants (under the heading of professions) and 'business management, clerical' who may belong in any of the managerial, professional or non-manual categories.

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

Income

All councillors responding to our enquiry were asked to say what was their 'approximate net income from all sources'. Net income meant income 'after income tax and insurance had been deducted but including benefits and over-time'. Table 1.11 summarises the answers given. It will be seen that over 90% of the councillors co-operating with us answered this question.

Councillors on the whole have higher incomes than their electors. Forty-two per cent of councillors have yearly incomes over £1,040 compared with 18% of electors and despite the higher proportion of retired persons who are councillors only 10% of councillors have yearly incomes of less than £520. This compares with 26% of electors in the same position.

The counties have the highest proportion of councillors with an income over £2,080 and even if the line is drawn at £1,560 a year or more, counties still have much the highest proportion above this line. The metropolitan boroughs and the rural districts have the next highest proportion of councillors with an income over £2,080 per annum and they are still the second and third if the line is drawn at £1,560 a year or more. On the other hand it will be noticed that the counties and the rural districts also have slightly more councillors than the other groups with an income of under £520 a year.

If we group together all councillors with an income of *less* than £1,040 a year it is the county boroughs, urban districts and municipal boroughs who have the largest proportion and if we draw the line at those with an income of £780 a year *or less* it is still the county boroughs and urban districts which have the largest proportion with an income *below* this line.

Twenty-three per cent of the councillors receive under £520 or over £2,080. A big majority (68%) receive between £520 and £2,080. More detailed analysis shows that 41% of all councillors have an income which falls between £780 and £1,560 a year.

TABLE 1.11
Income—by council type

£ yearly	All councils		Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	<i>Cls.</i>	<i>Els.</i>						
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Up to £520 ..	10	(26)	12	9	9	8	8	12
Over £520-1,040 ..	39	(48)	32	48	37	43	44	34
Over £1,040-2,080 ..	29	(15)	25	27	31	32	31	29
Over £2,080 ..	13	(3)	22	10	14	9	9	14
Not answered ..	9	(8)	9	6	9	8	8	11
Total ..	100	(100)	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers of councillors) ..	(3,970)		(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)
(Numbers of electors)	(2,184)							

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Table 1.12 shows the clear relationship between education and income. Over a quarter of all those with university, polytechnic, etc., education have incomes of over £2,080, but only 4% of those with elementary education. If we take together the two groups with up to £1,040 per annum nearly 70% of those with elementary or secondary modern education fall into this category and only 37% and 28% respectively of those with secondary and further education. On the other hand 68% of those with further education have incomes over £1,040. If we distinguish those who have public or private grammar school education we find that more than a quarter have incomes over £2,080 and 60% have incomes over £1,040.

TABLE 1.12
Income—by full-time education

£ yearly	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Further
	%	%	%	%
Up to £520	10	16	5	4
Over £520-£1,040	39	53	32	24
Over £1,040-£2,080	29	19	37	42
Over £2,080	13	4	18	26
Not answered	9	8	8	4
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(1,732)	(1,528)	(607)

(The total of 3,970 includes 103 informants who did not give their last full-time education.)

Elementary level = elementary, secondary modern, etc.

Secondary level = central, intermediate, technical, grammar, public, commercial, etc.

Further level = university, polytechnic, teacher training, etc.

EDUCATION AND QUALIFICATIONS

Education

We asked all councillors a series of questions about their education. Table 1.13 shows at what age councillors in different types of council received their last formal *full-time* school education. Ten per cent of all councillors finished their schooling at 13 years of age or younger. It will be seen that metropolitan borough councillors were more likely than others to have finished at 18 years or later.

TABLE 1.13
Age left school—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
13 years and under	10	14	13	—	8	12	9
14-17 years	70	60	74	72	74	72	67
18 years and over	14	19	9	22	11	10	18
Not answered	6	7	4	6	7	6	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

The following tables are perhaps more illuminating. Here we combine the results of questions asking about the earlier and later stages of schooling and this gives us the last type of full-time education. An informant who attended, for example, elementary school and went on to university is classified under 'university'.

In Table 1.14 we compare electors with councillors and with Members of Parliament. Councillors fall between Members of Parliament and electors in their educational attainment. It will be seen that much higher proportions of councillors have some form of further or secondary education than their electors; nevertheless a substantial proportion of all councillors finished their education at the elementary or secondary modern level. Only 15% had received university education or education at the level of polytechnic, technical college or teacher training institutions. Over half of all MPs had this level of education but only 6% of electors.

TABLE 1.14
Last type of full-time education

	Councillors	Electors	MPs
	%	%	%
Elementary, secondary modern	44	72	16
Central, intermediate, technical school, etc.	5	5	31
State grammar school	12	9	
Public, private grammar school	17	5	
Commercial school, military academy, etc.	4	3	53
Polytechnic, teacher training, etc. ..	6	4	
University	9	2	
Not answered	3	*	
Total ..	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(2,184)	(630)

*Less than 0.5%.

(The figures for MPs are derived from *The British General Election of 1964*, D. E. Butler and A. King, Macmillan and Co.)

Table 1.15 shows that the older councillors are much more likely than the younger ones to have finished their schooling at what now would be called the elementary or secondary modern level. At the other end of the education hierarchy it will be seen that the younger councillors and especially those under the age of 35 were much more likely than the older ones to have had university education. In considering these results it would be as well to remember that our councillors are considerably older than the general population and that far-reaching changes have taken place in the educational system since the schooldays of many councillors.

A substantial proportion of all councillors (17%) had their last full-time education at a public or private grammar school. Such councillors are to be found in considerable numbers in all age groups.

TABLE 1.15
Last type of full-time education—by age

	Total	Age				
		Under 35	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Elementary, secondary modern, etc.	44	23	38	41	49	47
Central, intermediate, technical school, etc.	5	5	7	7	5	3
State grammar school, etc.	12	22	15	14	11	6
Public, private grammar school	17	20	14	16	17	18
Commercial school/college, military academy, etc.	4	2	4	4	5	5
Polytechnic, teacher training, etc.	6	7	7	8	4	6
University	9	21	14	9	7	9
Not answered	3	—	1	1	2	6
Total (Numbers)	100 (3,970)	100 (179)	100 (611)	100 (1,082)	100 (1,231)	100 (897)

(The total of 3,970 includes 24 informants who did not give their age.)

In Table 1.16 we show the last full-time education of councillors in different types of council. It will be seen that the county boroughs had the largest proportion of councillors whose education finished at the elementary or secondary modern level, whereas the counties and the metropolitan boroughs had the largest proportion of councillors with university level education. In the rural districts and county councils 20-27% of all councillors received their last education at a public or private grammar school.

TABLE 1.16
Last type of full-time education—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Elementary, secondary modern, etc.	44	38	56	36	49	53	33
Central, intermediate, technical school, etc.	5	5	7	10	6	6	3
State grammar school, etc.	12	12	12	9	14	14	10
Public, private grammar school	17	20	9	18	11	9	27
Commercial school/college, military academy, etc.	4	6	3	6	4	3	6
Polytechnic, teacher training, etc.	6	3	4	4	6	7	7
University	9	14	7	13	8	7	10
Not answered	3	2	2	4	2	1	4
Total (Numbers)	100 (3,970)	100 (470)	100 (439)	100 (139)	100 (717)	100 (843)	100 (1,362)

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

If we look only at further education (in Table 1.17) some of the differences in educational level are brought out very sharply. Thus over 44% of all rural district councillors had no further education. If we take the two middle sections which include councillors who had some education by correspondence courses, or evening classes, or in polytechnic and technical colleges we see that the rural districts and the counties had fewest whereas county boroughs, municipal boroughs and urban districts had the highest proportions. These figures are in inverse ratio to the proportions which in Table 1.16 are shown to have had their last full-time education at public or private grammar schools.

TABLE 1.17
Further education—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Muni- cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
No further education	% 33	% 34	% 24	% 37	% 25	% 27	% 44
Correspondence course/ evening classes ..	41	37	54	36	50	51	27
Polytechnic/technical college/ teacher training	15	11	15	17	17	18	14
University	11	16	6	14	10	8	13
Not answered ..	8	8	6	7	8	6	9
Total ..	108	106	105	111	110	110	107
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)

Note: The percentages add up to more than 100 because some councillors had more than one kind of further education. The above percentages for Polytechnics, etc., and Universities include councillors attending part-time or special courses, and are therefore greater than the corresponding percentages in the full-time education table.

Table 1.18 shows how educational level varies with the length of time councillors have lived in their present council area. Those who have lived longest in their present council area are more likely to have had elementary or secondary modern school education only. Over half of all councillors who have lived for more than 25 years in their areas fall into this group. Similarly amongst councillors born in the area which they now represent, more than half had received their last full-time education at an elementary or secondary modern level. In contrast considerably more of those born outside their present council area had received university education than those born in the council area which they now represent.

If we take the two highest levels of education, those who have been to university or polytechnic, technical college or teacher training college, we find that they are most heavily represented amongst those who have lived five years or less in their present council area. A large proportion of councillors who do not now live in the area of the council on which they sit received their last form of full-time education at a public or private grammar school.

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It must be remembered that to some extent the association between length of residence in an area and education arises out of the age of the councillor, since the older councillors are more likely both to have lived longer in their areas and to have finished their education at the elementary level.

TABLE 1.18
Full-time education—
by how long lived in council area

	Total	Not living in council area	Lived there 5 years or less	Lived there 6-15 years	Lived there 16-25 years	Lived there more than 25 years
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Elementary, secondary modern, etc.	44	22	20	28	33	54
Central, intermediate, technical school, etc.	5	5	3	7	5	5
State grammar school, etc.	12	11	15	14	14	10
Public, private grammar school . . .	17	29	20	17	19	16
Commercial school/college, mili- tary academy, etc.	4	3	8	5	8	3
Polytechnic, teacher training, etc. .	6	3	11	9	8	4
University	9	19	22	19	12	5
Not answered	3	8	1	1	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(107)	(155)	(599)	(591)	(2,395)

(The total of 3,970 includes 123 informants who did not give length of residence in council area.)

Qualifications

Information about the last formal full-time education does not necessarily give us a completely accurate guide to the attainments or level of qualification of informants. We also asked councillors to tell us something about the qualifications they had obtained and in Table 1.19 we present the answers to these questions. It will be seen by comparing Table 1.18 with Table 1.19 that although 9% of our councillors said that their last full-time education was at a university 7% had obtained a university degree or had full medical training. On the other hand the proportion whose education went no higher than elementary or secondary modern school is almost identical with the proportion of those who had obtained no additional qualifications.

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

TABLE 1.19

Qualifications—by council type

	All councils		Counties	County boroughs		Metro-politan boroughs		Muni-cipal boroughs		Urban districts		Rural districts	
	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %	<i>Cls.</i> %	<i>Els.</i> %
No qualification obtained	44	74	42	47	78	40	80	41	68	44	72	45	76
Full industrial apprenticeship ..	9	5	8	15	5	6	3	11	4	10	5	7	6
G.C.E. 'O' level, matriculation, G.S.C., O.N.C., O.N.D., City and Guilds ..	13	8	14	11	5	19	6	14	8	14	10	13	9
G.C.E. 'A' level, H.S.C., Intermediate, H.N.C., Diploma ..	3	1	3	3	2	6	3	2	1	3	—	3	—
Teachers' certificate, member of professional institute, full or intermediate professional qualification	14	4	14	11	4	11	2	15	6	14	5	13	2
University degree, full medical training ..	7	2	11	5	2	9	—	7	3	6	1	8	1
Other answers (electors only)	—	5	—	—	3	—	4	—	7	—	6	—	4
Not answered	10	1	8	8	1	9	2	10	3	9	1	11	2
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers of councillors)	(3,970)		(470)	(439)		(139)		(717)		(843)		(1,362)	
(Numbers of electors)	(2,184)			(629)		(131)		(540)		(448)		(436)	

Cls. = Councillors. *Els.* = Electors.

Councillors had a substantially higher proportion with some form of qualification than electors. Twenty-one per cent of councillors had a university degree or some form of professional qualification compared with 6% of their electors, and 16% of councillors had some intermediate level of qualification such as 'A' level or 'O' level or a technical certificate or diploma compared with 9% of electors in the same position.

The proportion who had obtained no qualification was very much the same in most types of councils. Similarly, if we put into one group those who had served a full industrial apprenticeship or had obtained an equivalent technical qualification such as an Ordinary level National Certificate or G.C.E. 'O' levels the proportion is very much the same in most authorities.

Table 1.20 shows how the qualifications obtained by councillors vary with age. The major difference between councillors is in the proportion with no qualifications. About half the councillors over the age of 55 fall into this category. In contrast, there are in the younger groups substantially larger proportions who have reached G.C.E. 'A' level, who have a comparable technical qualification or who are members of professional institutes or who have university level education. The proportion of councillors with the two highest forms of qualification (professional or university degree) is 31% among the under 35s compared with 18% among the over 55s.

TABLE 1.20
Qualifications—by age

	Total	Age				
		Up to 35	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
No qualification obtained ..	% 44	% 19	% 35	% 41	% 51	% 49
Full industrial apprenticeship ..	9	8	12	9	9	8
G.C.E. 'O' level, matriculation, G.S.C., O.N.C., O.N.D., City and Guilds	13	33	22	16	10	5
G.C.E. 'A' level, H.S.C., Inter- mediate, H.N.C., Diploma ..	3	7	5	3	2	2
Teachers' certificate, member of professional institute, full or intermediate professional quali- fication	14	16	14	17	12	11
University degree, full medical training	7	15	9	7	6	7
Not answered	10	2	3	7	10	18
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(3,970)	(179)	(611)	(1,028)	(1,231)	(897)

(The total of 3,970 includes 24 informants who did not give their age.)

It is of some interest to look at the qualifications actually obtained by councillors falling into the different socio-economic groups. Taking once again the two groups with the highest level of qualifications (university degree, full medical training, membership of a professional institute or teachers' certificate) nearly three-quarters of our professional workers are so qualified, just under 30% of those who are employers or managers of the larger firms and just over 20% of employers and managers of the smaller firms.

Summary of Education and Qualifications

We may summarise our description of councillors' education and qualifications as follows: (1) Forty-four per cent of councillors had elementary education, or had no formal qualifications (compared with 70%-74% of their electors). (2) County, rural district and metropolitan borough councillors have higher proportions who left school over the age of 18, had been to university or had been educated at private or public grammar schools. The county boroughs and other urban areas have higher proportions who had received elementary or secondary modern school education only and who had gone in for further education mainly by correspondence courses or evening classes. (3) *The higher the level of education the shorter the period of residence in the area.* (4) *The younger the councillor the higher, on average, the level of qualification obtained.*

ATTACHMENT TO COUNCIL AREA

To what extent do councillors come from those who have the strongest roots in their areas? Table 1.21 shows that a majority of councillors have lived in the area they now represent for more than 25 years. Very few indeed, apart

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from metropolitan borough councillors, do not live in the area they represent. Metropolitan borough councillors could, of course, live very near to their areas but still be outside their boundaries.

It will be seen that everywhere, except in the county boroughs, a larger proportion of councillors than electors have lived more than 25 years in the area and smaller proportions of councillors than electors have lived less than 15 years in the area. In the metropolitan boroughs 9% of councillors have lived for less than 15 years in their area, compared with 37% of their electors. The period of time county borough councillors had lived in their areas compared fairly closely with the time their electors had lived in the area. Councillors, then, have a longer attachment to their areas than electors except in the county boroughs. *They are drawn more heavily from those who have lived longest in the area.*

TABLE 1.21
How long councillors have lived in council area—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Muni- cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	Cls. % Els. %	Cls. %	Cls. Els. % %	Cls. Els. % %	Cls. Els. % %	Cls. Els. % %	Cls. Els. % %
Not living in council area	3 —	3	4 —	14 —	2 —	2 —	2 —
Lived there 5 years or less	4 16	2	2 5	2 19	5 18	6 19	4 24
Lived there 6-15 years	15 17	10	9 10	7 18	17 20	18 21	17 18
Lived there 16-25 years	15 15	13	14 15	22 15	14 17	16 12	15 15
Lived there more than 25 years	60 50	69	68 69	53 44	59 44	55 44	59 41
Not answered	3 2	3	3 1	2 4	3 1	3 4	3 2
Total	100 100	100	100 100	100 100	100 100	100 100	100 100
(Numbers of councillors)	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)
(Numbers of electors)	(2,184)		(629)	(131)	(540)	(448)	(436)

Cls. = Councillors. Els. = Electors.

Another aspect of the position is shown by asking councillors whether they were born in the area they now represent. Over half of county borough councillors were born in their present area but the proportion is much lower in municipal boroughs, urban districts and rural districts (Table 1.22).

TABLE 1.22
Whether born in council area—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Muni- cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Born in council area	37	46	52	38	32	33	33
Not born in council area	63	54	48	62	68	67	67
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)

Chapter 1

Councillors were also asked if they normally worked in their present council area or within a specified distance from the boundary of the area. In Table 1.23 the answers to this question are analysed in two ways. Under column 'A' (councillors) we give the answers to the question for all councillors and under column 'B' for those councillors and electors only who were working at the time of the survey. A rather larger proportion of electors than of councillors is not working full-time but when this is discounted the relationship of place of work to council area is much the same for working electors and working councillors. As was shown earlier different proportions of councillors may be considered as fully employed in the different types of area. The effective comparison in this table is between the proportions given under column 'B' for the different types of council. Nearly two-thirds of all councillors who were working at the time of the survey normally worked in the area of the council which they represent. The proportion is very high for counties, county boroughs and rural districts. Counties, of course, cover a much wider area than other types of authorities and county councillors can work at a considerable distance from the county centre and still be included in the category 'working in the council area'. Very few of the metropolitan councillors worked in the area which they represent. On the other hand well over half of all metropolitan borough councillors worked relatively close to the areas they represent.

TABLE 1.23
Normal place of work—by council type

	All councillors		(All electors)	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	A %	B %	B %	B %	B %	B %	B %	B %	B %
In council area ..	44	62	(62)	78	72	18	52	53	73
Less than 5 miles outside boundary	10	13	(15)	8	8	53	12	16	9
5 or more miles outside boundary	13	18	(15)	7	14	25	28	22	11
Variable ..	5	7	(8)	7	6	4	8	9	7
Does not apply (not working)	27	—	(—)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Not answered	1	—	(—)	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total ..	100	100	(100)	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(2,184)	(1,279)	(264)	(334)	(112)	(552)	(648)	(904)

(The category 'variable' relates to those employed in such occupations as 'commercial traveller' where location of work is not permanently fixed.)

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

It is sometimes suggested that particular sections of the population are more mobile than others and that because they do not live long enough in the area to form attachments they therefore do not have the same opportunity or inclinations as others to interest themselves in council work. Our survey provides some information which is relevant to this point and material is available from other Social Survey studies which enables us to pursue it further.

The Registrar General classifies the population by the socio-economic groups described earlier and also by so-called 'social classes'. The latter classification is an attempt to ascribe some kind of social status associated with the nature of occupation. In general it is not easily comparable with the socio-economic grouping, which seemed much more relevant for our purposes and we have therefore not used the 'social class' grouping for most of the analyses. Other available Social Survey material, however, does use the 'social class' grouping and we have for purposes of the present section classified our councillors in the same way. The table below shows the comparison with the general population.

TABLE 1.24
Comparison of councillors with general population—
by social class

	(Adult males)		
	General population	General population (weighted)*	Councillors
	%	%	%
1 Professional, etc.	3	3	9
2 Intermediate	13	15	48
3 Non-manual	14	14	13
4 Skilled manual	37	36	17
5 Semi-skilled manual	17	18	7
6 Unskilled manual	8	8	3
Not answered/unclassified, never gainfully employed	8	6	3
Total (Numbers)	100 (8,365)	100 (8,365)	100 (3,970)

*General population weighted to have the same age distribution as councillors.

Source: Labour Mobility Survey, Government Social Survey, 1963.

Note: The above classification is the same as the Registrar General's five social classes, except that skilled occupations have been divided into non-manual and skilled manual. Professional, etc., occupations include doctors, engineers, accountants, clergy, members of the legal profession, with or without employees. Intermediate occupations include most managers, executives, and minor professionals such as school teachers, nurses, etc. Non-manual occupations include clerks, typists, sales workers, security workers, etc.

The second group is not directly comparable with our grouping of small or large employers and managers since it also includes substantial numbers of other occupations. In general, however, the results are in line with those presented earlier in this chapter. They show that manual workers are numerically very under-represented whilst the first two groups are over-represented.

The group called 'professional' in the social class classification (9%) corresponds fairly closely with the two professional groups in the socio-economic

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classification which we have used earlier (4% + 4% males over 25). Table 1.25 shows that this group of 'professional' councillors are much *less* likely (31%) to have lived 25 years or more in the council area than other councillors (59%–78%). It is the unskilled and semi-skilled amongst councillors who have lived longest in the area and three times as many of the 'professional' as other councillors have lived in their area five years or less. Tables 1.26 and 1.27 show that amongst the general population many more of the professionals than others have made two or more moves in the last ten years and that their moves were likely to take them farther away on average than the moves made by most of the other social classes.

TABLE 1.25
Councillors—time lived in council area—
by social class

	Total	Profes- sional, etc.	Inter- mediate	Non- manual	Skilled manual	Semi- skilled manual	Unskilled manual
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not living in area ..	3	5	3	3	1	1	1
5 years or less ..	4	12	4	3	2	1	—
6–15 years ..	15	30	16	14	12	8	6
16–25 years ..	15	19	15	16	12	9	18
25 years or more ..	60	31	59	62	69	78	71
Not answered ..	3	3	3	2	4	3	4
Total .. (Numbers)	100 (3,970)	100 (358)	100 (1,896)	100 (501)	100 (664)	100 (286)	100 (139)

(The total of 3,970 includes 126 informants who did not give their social class or who had never been gainfully employed.)

TABLE 1.26
General population—number of residential moves in last 10 years—
by social class

(General population sample of males weighted to have the same age distribution as councillors)

	Total	Profes- sional, etc.	Inter- mediate	Non- manual	Skilled manual	Semi- skilled manual	Unskilled manual
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Had not moved ..	55	33	49	52	58	59	55
1 move ..	29	33	34	30	28	27	30
2 or more moves ..	16	34	17	18	14	14	15
Total .. (Numbers)	100 (8,365)	100 (229)	100 (1,234)	100 (1,187)	100 (3,055)	100 (1,498)	100 (646)

(The total of 8,365 includes 516 informants who had not worked in the last 10 years or did not give their social class.)

Source: Labour Mobility Survey, Government Social Survey, 1963.

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TABLE 1.27
General population—distance moved in last residential move—
by social class

(General population sample of males weighted to have the same age distribution as councillors)

	Total	Profes- sional, etc.	Inter- mediate	Non- manual	Skilled manual	Semi- skilled manual	Unskilled manual
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Did not move in last 10 years or moved within same town ..	82	58	75	77	86	86	88
Moved up to 10 miles	7	10	9	8	6	5	5
Moved 11 or more miles	10	30	15	13	7	8	6
Not answered ..	1	2	1	2	1	1	1
Total .. (Numbers)	100 (8,365)	100 (229)	100 (1,234)	100 (1,187)	100 (3,055)	100 (1,498)	100 (646)

(The total of 8,365 includes 516 informants who had not worked in the last 10 years or did not give their social class.)

Clearly, the professional group is more mobile than the rest of the population. How serious an obstacle has this been to work as a councillor? It is obviously not an unsurpassable barrier since the professional class or the professional socio-economic groups are represented three times as heavily amongst councillors as amongst the general population. Furthermore despite their mobility half of the 'professional' group *amongst councillors* have lived in their area for over 16 years. One-third of the 'professional class' in the *whole population* had made no move at all in the last ten years and 58% had not moved out of their town of residence in that time. It seems that for those professionals who are interested, mobility need not prevent many of them joining councils.

Table 1.28 shows that of those with some form of further education in the general population 27% have made two or more moves in the last ten years compared with only 12% of those with elementary education. Once again the mobile group not only moves more but moves farther. As with the 'professionals', however, it is also necessary to point out that 42% of those with further education had made no move at all in the last 10 years and two-thirds had not moved out of the town of residence in that time (Table 1.29).

TABLE 1.28
Number of residential moves in last 10 years—
by education

(General population sample of males weighted to have the same age distribution as councillors)

	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Further
	%	%	%	%
No moves	55	60	50	42
1 move	29	28	32	31
2 or more moves	16	12	18	27
Total .. (Numbers)	100 (8,365)	100 (5,798)	100 (1,897)	100 (376)

(The total of 8,365 includes 294 informants who gave no education details
Source: Labour Mobility Survey, Government Social Survey, 1963.

TABLE 1.29
General population—distance moved in last residential move—
by education

(General population sample of males weighted to have the same age distribution as councillors)

	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Further
	%	%	%	%
Did not move in last 10 years or moved within the same town	82	86	76	66
Moved up to 10 miles ..	7	6	8	12
Moved 11 or more miles ..	10	7	14	18
Not answered	1	1	2	4
Total .. (Numbers)	100 (8,365)	100 (5,798)	100 (1,897)	100 (376)

(The total of 8,365 includes 294 informants who gave no education details.)

In the general population those aged 20–44 had moved much more frequently than those aged 55 years and over in the last ten years. Thirty-six per cent of the younger group had made two or more moves but only 8% of those over 55 and 12% of those aged 45–54 years.

Mobility is certainly greater amongst the professionals, the better educated and the young and, to some extent, this may affect their interest and participation in local affairs. But since the majority of those in these groups in the general population have not moved out of their area in the last ten years there are still many who might participate if they wished to do so.

TABLE 1.30
General population—number of residential moves in last 10 years—
by age

	Total	Age			
		20–44	45–54	55–64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%	%
Had not moved	48	27	58	68	67
1 move	31	37	30	24	25
2 or more moves	21	36	12	8	8
Total .. (Numbers)	100 (19,975)	100 (8,383)	100 (3,603)	100 (3,063)	100 (3,016)

(The total of 19,975 includes 1,910 informants aged under 20, or who did not give their age.)
Source: Labour Mobility Survey, Government Social Survey, 1963.

Summary of attachment to Council Area

The following table provides a summary of the information collected which measures councillors' attachment to their areas.

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TABLE 1.31
Some factors indicating the degree of councillors' attachment to their areas—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Muni- cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Work in council area ..	62	78 (1)	72 (3)	18 (6)	52 (5)	53 (4)	73 (2)
Born in council area ..	37	46 (2)	52 (1)	38 (3)	32 (6)	33 (4=)	33 (4=)
Lived in area more than 25 years ..	60	69 (1)	68 (2)	53 (6)	59 (3=)	55 (5)	59 (3=)
Present address is own property ..	66	72 (1)	60 (5)	32 (6)	67 (4)	68 (3)	71 (2)
All or most of friends live in area* ..	69	75 (2)	89 (1)	50 (6)	68 (3=)	68 (3=)	65 (5)
Attachment index ..	294	340 (2)	341 (1)	191 (6)	278 (4)	277 (5)	301 (3)

*To be dealt with more fully in Chapter II.

The figures in parentheses show the rank order of council types (1 for highest percentage to 6 for lowest) on each of the points taken separately, and the bottom line shows the index of councillors' attachment to their areas, derived from adding up the various percentages.

If these indications are accepted as valid, then it is the county borough and county councillors who have the strongest attachment to their areas and the former metropolitan borough councillors whose attachment was relatively weakest. This is, at most, a summary of some of the social links between a councillor and his area and provides no measure at all of the energy or skill with which the councillor pursues his council duties.

There is no doubt that professional groups, younger people and the better educated are more mobile, but it seems unlikely that the extent of their mobility is such as to prevent the members of these groups participating in local government, if they are sufficiently interested.

COUNCIL EXPERIENCE

The previous sections of this chapter have described some of the characteristics of councillors. This section presents material about their council service. We asked all councillors to tell us about the way in which they were *first appointed* to the council on which they now sit, how old they were at the time and also something about their period of service. Another group of questions dealing with the method of appointment at *the last election* is discussed later.

How Councillors were first Appointed to their Present Council

Table 1.32 shows how councillors were *first appointed* to the council on which they now serve. It will be seen that there is a sharp distinction between the position of county councillors and rural district councillors and that of other councillors. Whereas over two-thirds of all councillors fought an election, over half of rural district councillors were returned unopposed. It must be remembered that the figures for 'all councils' result from giving correct weight to the very large number of rural district councillors.

TABLE 1.32
Method of appointment when first served on council—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Muni- cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
Returned unopposed	% 31	% 34	% 10	% 10	% 16	% 16	% 55
Opposed but elected ..	67	63	85	89	82	81	43
Voted on as alderman, chairman or mayor	*	1	*	1	—	—	—
Co-opted during the war	2	2	4	—	2	3	2
Not answered ..	*	*	1	—	—	*	*
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)

*Less than 0.5%.

Table 1.33 gives the age of councillors when *first appointed* to the council on which they now sit. Very few councillors were over 65 when they first served on their present council. Two-thirds were between 35 and 54 when first appointed.

TABLE 1.33
Age first served on council—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Muni- cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
Under 35	% 15	% 8	% 20	% 35	% 17	% 16	% 13
35-44	33	25	36	30	37	35	30
45-54	32	37	30	26	32	33	31
55-64	16	23	12	7	12	13	21
65 or over	3	7	2	1	2	3	4
Not answered ..	1	*	—	1	*	*	1
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,790)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)

*Less than 0.5%.

About 30% of county councillors were over the age of 55 when they first served on their present council. Over a quarter of rural district councillors were over 55 years at that time but only 8% of metropolitan borough councillors. The proportion of councillors who were between the ages of 35-54 when *first appointed* to their present council does not vary much between one council type and another, although it is somewhat lower in metropolitan borough councils. On the other hand 35% of metropolitan borough councillors were under the age of 35 when first appointed.

Table 1.34 shows that 48% of all existing councillors *first served* on their present council in 1958 or later. Eleven per cent of all councillors had less than

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a year's service at the time of the enquiry. These proportions do not vary greatly between one council type and another. There is a difference, however, between the position of metropolitan borough councillors and the rest since there were no elections to the old metropolitan boroughs in 1964.

TABLE 1.34
Year first served on council—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Before 1939	7	9	10	9	8	5	7
1940-1951	22	24	22	22	21	19	25
1952-1957	23	23	25	29	22	23	23
1958-1963	37	30	33	40	39	40	34
1964	11	14	10	—	10	13	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)

Time Served on Present Council

Table 1.35 gives a summary picture of how long councillors have served. It will be seen that over a quarter of all councillors have served not more than three years. On the other hand 42% of councillors have served 10 or more years. The situation does not vary much from one council type to another, except that rather more urban district councillors have served for a period of nine years or less than is the case with other kinds of councillors.

TABLE 1.35
Time served on council—by council type

Number of years	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Up to 3	26	22	27	24	30	31	23
4-9	31	31	26	31	28	33	32
10-20	33	35	35	36	32	29	35
21 or more	9	10	11	9	9	6	9
Not answered	1	2	1	—	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)

In Table 1.36 the number of years councillors have served on their present council is related to their present age. It will be seen that 95% of those who have served more than 20 years are over the age of 55 and 70% of those who have served between 10 and 20 years are over 55 years of age. On the other hand over 30% of those who have served three years or less on their present council are also over the age of 55 years.

TABLE 1.36

Present age—by time served on present council

Age	All length of service groups	Years served on council			
		Up to 3	4-9	10-20	More than 20
Up to 34	% 4	% 12	% 4	% —	% —
35-44	15	28	19	6	*
45-54	26	30	32	23	4
55-64	31	23	29	40	26
65 and over ..	23	7	15	30	69
Not answered ..	1	*	1	1	1
Total ..	100 (3,970)	100 (1,048)	100 (1,223)	100 (1,314)	100 (345)

*Less than 0.5%.

(The total of 3,970 includes 40 informants who did not give their years of service on council.)

Table 1.37 shows how time served on the present council is related to the last full-time education. It will be seen that those who have served more than 20 years are rather more likely to have finished their education at the elementary or secondary modern level than councillors who have served a shorter period of time. This is partly because those who have served a relatively limited period of time are likely, as is shown in Table 1.36, to be younger. On the other hand 20% of those who have served three years or less have university education, polytechnic, technical college or teacher training. This compares with 11% in the same groups of those who have served between 10 to 20 years and 12% of those who have served more than 20 years.

TABLE 1.37

Full-time education—by time served on council

	All length of service groups	Years served on council			
		Up to 3	4-9	10-20	More than 20
	%	%	%	%	%
Elementary, secondary modern, etc. ..	44	39	42	47	50
Central, intermediate, technical school, etc. ..	5	5	6	5	4
State grammar school, etc. ..	12	14	12	11	9
Public, private grammar school ..	17	16	17	19	15
Commercial school/college, military academy, etc. ..	4	5	5	4	3
Polytechnic, teacher training, etc. ..	6	7	6	5	4
University ..	9	13	11	6	8
Not answered ..	3	1	1	3	7
Total ..	100 (3,970)	100 (1,048)	100 (1,223)	100 (1,314)	100 (345)

(The total of 3,970 includes 40 respondents who did not give their years of service on council.)

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Table 1.38 shows how the incomes of those who have served different periods vary. More of those who have served longer periods of time have incomes of below £520 a year. Roughly the same proportion have over £2,080 a year among both the shorter service and the longer service councillors. On the whole the longer service councillors are rather poorer than other councillors.

TABLE 1.38
Income—by time served on council

£ yearly	All length of service groups	Years served on council			
		Up to 3	4-9	10-20	More than 20
	%	%	%	%	%
Up to 520 ..	10	4	8	13	21
Over 520-1,040 ..	39	40	40	40	31
Over 1,040-2,080 ..	29	38	33	24	15
Over 2,080 ..	13	12	12	13	12
Not answered ..	9	6	7	10	21
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(1,048)	(1,223)	(1,314)	(345)

(The total of 3,970 includes 40 informants who did not give their years of service on council.)

Membership of More Than One Council

In addition to giving particulars about their present membership, all councillors were asked 'are you *now* a member of any other council?'. Table 1.39 shows that less than one-third of all councillors were members of other councils and the greater part of the duplicate membership was on parish councils. Three per cent of all councillors were members of three councils and 90% of these third council memberships were of parish councils. Only county and rural district councillors have appreciable proportions of duplicate membership. In the case of rural district councils most duplicate membership is on parish councils but county council duplicate membership is spread over municipal borough, urban district and rural district councils as well as parish councils. The figures for the metropolitan boroughs are exceptional and would not necessarily hold for any time other than 1964. They simply reflect the fact that many metropolitan borough councillors have been elected as members of the new London borough councils.

Older councillors are more likely than others to be on more than one council, as perhaps was to be expected, but even amongst those who are over 65 years of age not more than 38% are members of more than one council.

TABLE 1.39
Membership of other councils—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Muni- cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not on another council	68	52	100	39	83	92	45
On a county council ..	4	—	—	3	7	5	6
On a county borough council ..	*	1	—	—	—	*	—
On a metropolitan borough council ..	*	2	—	—	*	*	—
On a municipal borough council ..	1	7	—	—	—	—	—
On an urban district council ..	2	12	—	—	—	—	*
On a rural district council ..	2	15	—	—	—	*	—
On a parish council ..	18	9	*	—	*	2	48
On a new London borough council ..	4	*	—	57	9	—	—
On a Greater London Council ..	*	1	—	—	—	—	—
Not answered ..	1	1	—	1	1	1	1
Total .. (Numbers)	100 (3,970)	100 (470)	100 (439)	100 (139)	100 (717)	100 (843)	100 (1,362)
Percentage of council- lors also on a third council .. (Numbers)	3 (86)	11 (52)	— —	1 (1)	1 (9)	* (1)	3 (23)

*Less than 0.5%.

Councillors' occupations do not seem to have much effect on whether or not they have duplicate membership except that a disproportionate number of those who are also on other councils are farmers. This result is no doubt closely related to the finding already noted that nearly half of rural district councillors are also members of parish councils. Other analyses show that whether or not councillors are working a full week does not seem to have much relationship to membership of one or more councils. Those who are retired are only to a slight extent more likely to have membership of one or more other councils.

Method of Appointment at Last Election

In addition to giving information about how they first came to serve on their present council all our informants were asked to say what happened at the last election. There was some ambiguity about this question. Aldermen elected for six-year periods of office would, of course, not come up for appointment at 'the last election'. However, we had recorded separately, for all our informants, whether they were aldermen or not and it was possible to combine this information with that obtained from the question which asked what had happened at the last election. The results of combining the two kinds of information are given in this section.

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Table 1.40 shows the method of appointment of all councillors holding office at the time of the survey, during the last quarter of 1964. Urban districts and rural districts do not appoint aldermen or mayors so that the total column giving the figures for 'all councillors' has been calculated twice: in the first place covering all councillors and in the second place excluding urban and rural district councillors.

It will be seen that only half of all councillors actually stood for election at the last election. If we exclude urban and rural district councils the figure only reaches 55%. Thirty-eight per cent of all councillors were returned unopposed but this category is heavily affected by the very large proportion of all rural district councillors who were returned unopposed. Even if urban and rural district councils are excluded we still have 20% of the remainder who were returned unopposed.

The proportion who were appointed as aldermen provides an interesting check on the accuracy of our sample since, bearing in mind sampling error, the proportions of aldermen in our sample come very near to the actual numbers in all councils.

TABLE 1.40
Method of appointment at last election—
by council type

	All councils	All councils except urban and rural districts	county councils	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Muni- cipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Returned unopposed	38	20	38	9	3	18	26	69
Opposed but elected . .	50	55	37	64	80	55	72	30
Voted on as alderman, chairman or mayor	11	24	24	26	16	26	—	—
Not answered	1	1	1	1	1	1	2	1
Total (Numbers)	100 (3,970)	100 (1,765)	100 (470)	100 (439)	100 (139)	100 (717)	100 (843)	100 (1,362)

Table 1.41 shows how the method of appointment at the last election varies with age. As is perhaps to be expected, it is the younger councillors who have had to fight campaigns and only a third of the oldest group actually stood for election. Conversely, nearly a quarter of the oldest group of councillors were appointed as aldermen, chairmen or mayors by their fellow councillors rather than the electors. The proportion returned unopposed rises steadily with age.

TABLE 1.41

Method of appointment at last election—by age

	Total	Age				
		Under 35	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
		%	%	%	%	%
Returned unopposed	38	19	32	38	41	43
Opposed but elected	50	80	65	56	45	33
Voted on as alderman, chairman or mayor	11	1	3	5	13	23
Not answered	1	—	*	1	1	1
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(3,970)	(179)	(611)	(1,028)	(1,231)	(897)

*Less than 0.5%.

(The total includes 24 informants who did not give their age.)

Table 1.42 relates the method of appointment to the time served on the council. It will be seen that councillors are unlikely to be elected as aldermen, chairmen or mayors if they have served less than ten years but a very high proportion of those who have served more than twenty years are appointed by their fellow councillors rather than by the electors. *Once councillors have served ten years the chance of their fighting an election seems to fall off sharply.*

TABLE 1.42

Method of appointment at last election—
by time served on council

	All groups	Years served on council			
		Up to 3	4-9	10-20	More than 20
		%	%	%	%
Returned unopposed ..	38	29	42	42	35
Opposed but elected ..	50	69	55	38	20
Voted on as alderman, chairman or mayor ..	11	*	2	19	45
Not answered	1	2	1	1	—
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(1,048)	(1,223)	(1,314)	(345)

*Less than 0.5%.

(The total of 3,970 includes 40 informants who did not give their years of service on council.)

In Table 1.43 we have analysed the method of appointment in the last election by socio-economic status. It will be seen that the employers and managers in small businesses and farmers were much more likely than others to have been returned unopposed. In urban and rural districts a high proportion of seats are not contested and in these types of authority there is a high proportion either of 'smaller' employers and managers or farmers.

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TABLE 1.43
Method of appointment at last election—
by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates and professionals	Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professional	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Returned unopposed ..	38	31	51	30	35
Voted on as alderman or mayor or chairman ..	11	12	9	14	16
Opposed but elected ..	50	56	40	55	48
Not answered ..	1	1	—	1	1
Total (Numbers) ..	100 (3,970)	100 (697)	100 (1,338)	100 (854)	100 (756)

(The total of 3,970 includes 325 informants who did not give their S.E.G. or who were unclassified.)

CHAIRMEN AND ALDERMEN

In the postal enquiry we asked our councillors to tell us for each committee of which they were a member whether they occupied the position of chairman or member. We are, therefore, able to say something about the characteristics of chairmen of councils and of committees. Similarly we can use the results of the postal enquiry to describe aldermen.

Chairmen of Councils

Table 1.44 shows the results of an analysis by age. It appears that, on average, chairmen or mayors of councils (hereafter collectively called 'chairmen') are only a little older than members. Nevertheless, the chances of being chairman in the age group 55-64 are more than twice as high as they are in the age group 35-44.

TABLE 1.44
Status of councillor—by age

	All ages	Age					Average age
		Under 35	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over	
Chairmen	% 3	% 1	% 2	% 3	% 4	% 3	years 57.3
Members	97	99	98	97	96	97	54.9
Total (Numbers) ..	100 (3,970)	100 (179)	100 (611)	100 (1,028)	100 (1,231)	100 (897)	55.0 (3,946)

(The total 3,970 includes 24 informants who did not give their age.)

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Table 1.45 shows how the chances of being chairman vary with length of service. Clearly the longer councillors have served, the better their chances are of being chairman. Chairmen have put in on average just under 15 years of service compared with an average of about 10 years for other committee members.

Women are nearly as well represented (11%) amongst the chairmen as are men (12%). There appears to be not much difference in the chances of councillors with different educational levels or length of residence being chairmen. Chairmen are, however, somewhat more likely (20%) than other members of council (12%) to be chosen from amongst those with incomes of over £2,000 per annum.

TABLE 1.45
Status of councillor—
by length of service on council

	All length of service groups	Years served on council				Average length of service
		Up to 3	4-9	10-20	21 or more	
Chairmen	% 3	% *	% 3	% 4	% 5	years 14.6
Members	97	100	97	96	95	10.3
Total (Numbers)	100 (3,970)	100 (1,048)	100 (1,223)	100 (1,314)	100 (345)	10.4 (3,930)

*Less than 0.5%.

Chairmen of Committees

In the following paragraphs no distinctions have been made between committees and sub-committees. Such a distinction would only be relevant in an analysis distinguishing the different types and sizes of councils, since the work of a sub-committee in a council responsible for a substantial population might be heavier than that of a full committee in a smaller authority. Councillors were members of nearly six committees, on average, so that our sample had a very large total number of committee memberships. A substantial proportion of councillors did not tell us whether or not they were chairmen of all of the committees of which they were a member and we do not know for 18% of all the committees recorded, whether or not the councillor concerned was a chairman or an ordinary member. Those councillors who had never been in paid employment, those who were members of relatively few committees, and metropolitan borough councillors were responsible for a disproportionate part of these omissions. The fact that we do not have a record for each committee means that we must interpret any analyses of committee chairmen with some caution, but some conclusions can be drawn.

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

Women are just as likely as men to be chairmen of committees. Older councillors are a little more likely to be chairmen (13-15%) than are younger councillors (8-10%). There is, however, very little difference in the chances of councillors with different educational levels or incomes or in the different socio-economic groups being chairmen of committees.

Councillors' places of work seem to have little effect on their chances of becoming chairmen of committees. Councillors who work in the areas they represent are just as likely to be chairmen as those who work more than five miles away. Similarly, councillors who are retired have also the same chance of becoming chairmen of committees as those who are working full-time. A very large proportion (30%) of those who were members of relatively few committees did not tell us whether they were chairmen or not, and this makes it difficult to draw clear cut conclusions from the information given by the rest. However, it appears that the more committees a councillor sits on, the higher his chances of being chairman of a committee.

Aldermen

In the three tables which follow, we have summarised the information collected about the characteristics of aldermen in contrast to those of other councillors.

Table 1.46 shows that nearly half of all aldermen are 65 or more. Only 15% are under 55 whereas nearly half of other councillors are under this age. Fifteen per cent of aldermen are over 75 years of age. These age figures should be read in conjunction with the figures for length of service on the council, which are even more striking. Nearly two-thirds of all councillors have served 9 years or less and only 5% 20 years or more but over one-third of aldermen have served for 20 years or more. Length of service seems even more important than age to the chances of becoming an alderman. This would be consistent with the belief that aldermanic status provides opportunities for recognising experience.

The proportion of men and women councillors who became aldermen is very similar. Aldermen are much more likely than other councillors to have lived in their areas for 25 years or more and they are *less* likely than other councillors to have been returned unopposed when they first stood for the council.

By comparing (in a separate calculation not shown) the proportion in the different groups who are aldermen we have an indication of the chances of particular groups supplying the aldermen. Thus whereas 23% of those over the age of 65 are likely to be aldermen the proportion dwindles to less than 1% of those who are under the age of 35. Even in the higher age groups, it is noticeable that the chances of being an alderman are twice as high for those who are over 65 as for those between 55-64 and nearly five times as high as they are for those between the ages of 45-54. The chances of becoming an alderman are very strongly related to length of service. Up to 10 years of service, apparently gives councillors very little chance of becoming aldermen, whilst those who have given more than 20 years' service have an almost even chance of becoming aldermen.

TABLE 1.46
Aldermen and councillors: characteristics

Total numbers	Total	Aldermen	Councillors
	3,970	427	3,543
	%	%	%
Age			
Under 35.. .. .	4	*	5
35-44	15	4	17
45-54	26	11	27
55-64	31	36	30
65 and over	23	48	20
Not answered	1	1	1
	100	100	100
Length of service			
Up to 3 years	26	1	30
4-9 years	31	4	34
10-20 years	33	57	30
20 or more years	9	36	5
Not answered	1	2	1
	100	100	100
Sex			
Male	88	86	88
Female	12	14	12
	100	100	100
Length of residence in area			
Non-resident	3	4	3
Up to 5 years	4	—	4
6-15 years	15	3	17
16-25 years	15	6	16
25 or more years	60	84	57
Not answered	3	3	3
	100	100	100
Method of appointment when first served			
Returned unopposed	31	18	32
Opposed but elected	67	75	66
Co-opted during the war	2	7	2
	100	100	100

*Less than 0.5%.

Table 1.47 shows that there is not much difference between the educational level or qualifications of aldermen or councillors particularly when the age differences are remembered. There are only small differences in the chances of becoming aldermen for those with different educational standards or qualifications. If anything, those with higher levels of education or qualification have somewhat lower chances of becoming aldermen. It appears then that *whilst length of service and age are important factors in determining whether people become aldermen, education and qualifications are not.*

Some characteristics of the local government councillor

TABLE 1.47
Aldermen and councillors: characteristics

Total numbers	Total 3,970	Aldermen 427	Councillors 3,543
Education	%	%	%
Elementary, secondary modern, etc. . .	44	53	43
Central, intermediate, technical school, etc.	5	5	5
State grammar school, etc.	12	10	12
Public/private grammar school, etc. . .	17	14	17
Commercial school/college, etc. . . .	4	4	5
Polytechnic, teacher training, etc. . .	6	3	6
University	10	7	10
Not answered	2	4	2
	100	100	100
Qualifications			
None	44	51	43
Full industrial apprenticeship	9	10	9
G.C.E. 'O' level, etc.	13	9	14
G.C.E. 'A' level, etc.	3	2	3
Teachers' certificate, professional . .	14	9	14
University degree, full medical training	8	5	8
Not answered	9	14	9
	100	100	100
Income per week			
£			
Nil	1	2	1
Under 5	2	4	1
5-10	7	10	7
10-15	19	23	19
15-20	20	14	21
20-25	13	10	13
25-30	8	4	8
30-40	8	7	9
40-60	6	5	6
60 or over	6	9	6
Not answered	10	12	9
	100	100	100

The chance of becoming an alderman varies almost negatively with income except for those with incomes over £3,000 a year. Apart from the latter the *lower the weekly income the higher the chance of becoming an alderman* and this is so even if one excludes the substantial group which declared that they have no income or very small incomes. These are mainly retired people, in the older age groupings, who have already been shown to have very high chances of becoming aldermen. There are roughly three groups amongst the remaining councillors. Those whose incomes are between £5 and £15 per week have rather more than average chances of becoming aldermen. Those whose incomes are between £15 and £60 per week have rather less than average chances of becoming aldermen. Those who have over £3,000 a year have a substantially better chance

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of becoming aldermen. This latter group constitutes, of course, a very small proportion of all councillors.

Table 1.48 shows that there are not many major differences in the occupational characteristics of aldermen or councillors according to the socio-economic classification.

It seems to make very little difference to aldermanic chances whether councillors work for public or private industries, or whether informants work in the council area or some distance from it, but there are marked differences in the chances of those with different employment situations. Retired councillors have a higher chance of becoming aldermen than those working full-time. Those working full-time have a lower than average chance of becoming aldermen. Those working less than full-time or who are housewives also have a higher than average chance of becoming aldermen. These results are consistent with those relating to the effect of age on the chance of becoming an alderman.

TABLE 1.48
Aldermen and councillors: characteristics

	Total	Aldermen	Councillors
Total numbers	3,970	427	3,543
Socio-economic group	%	%	%
Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates and professionals ..	18	17	18
Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates and farmers	34	27	34
Non-manual and own account non-professionals	21	28	21
Manual and agricultural workers ..	19	17	19
Not answered or residual	8	11	8
	100	100	100
Type of industry			
Nationalised industry/public body ..	24	24	24
Private employer	68	67	68
Not answered or not gainfully employed	8	9	8
	100	100	100
Normal place of work			
In council area	44	35	45
Less than 5 miles outside boundary ..	9	6	10
5 or more miles outside boundary ..	12	11	13
Variable	5	3	5
Not answered or not gainfully employed	30	45	27
	100	100	100
Employment situation			
Usually work 30 hours or more per week	66	48	68
Usually work under 30 hours per week	5	7	5
Housewife	7	9	6
Retired	21	32	19
Not answered	1	4	2
	100	100	100

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER I

1. Councillors are much older on average than the general population. Relatively only a small proportion are women. On average, county and rural district councils have older councillors than other areas, and the former metropolitan boroughs had a bigger proportion of younger councillors. The county councils, too, had more councillors who were retired or housewives, and the metropolitan boroughs fewer. Two-thirds of all councillors were working full-time.

2. We have compared councillors' occupations with those of the general population. The largest group of councillors are the employers and managers of smaller businesses. Twenty per cent of councillors fall into this category. This is three times as big as the proportion of this group in the population. They form about a quarter of councillors in municipal boroughs and urban districts. Farmers and farm managers are similarly heavily over-represented, mainly on county and rural district councils. Small businessmen and farmers or managers of such small enterprises amount to 36% of all councillors but only 9% of the general population. They form 46% of all rural district councillors and nearly a third of all county councillors.

Nineteen per cent of councillors are employers and managers in the larger businesses or professionals compared with 7% in the general population. They are fairly well represented on most types of council. In contrast 26% of the population are skilled manual workers compared with 11% of councillors. The semi-skilled and unskilled are similarly under-represented. These groups, together with non-manual workers, form over one-half of county borough and the former metropolitan borough councils.

3. Councillors have higher incomes on average than their electors. County councils, former metropolitan borough and rural district councils have the larger proportions with high incomes. County boroughs, urban districts and municipal boroughs have the larger proportions with low incomes.

4. Forty-four per cent of councillors had only elementary education, or no formal qualifications. This compares with 70% of electors in the same position. County, rural district and metropolitan borough councillors have higher proportions who left school over the age of 18 or who had been to university or private schools. County boroughs and other urban areas have higher proportions who had only elementary or secondary modern schooling or whose further education had come from correspondence courses or evening classes. The younger the councillor on average the higher the level of qualification. The higher the level of education the shorter the period of residence in the area.

5. Does mobility in the general population reduce the chances of some groups supplying councillors? Mobility is shown to be greater amongst the professionals, the better educated and the young and to some extent this may affect their interest and participation in local affairs. But although many in these groups had moved short distances in the last ten years the majority had not moved out of their town of residence in that time. Consequently there are still very many who might participate if they wished to do so.

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6. There are substantial differences in the council experience of the councillors in different types of area. If we take all those councillors who were returned unopposed at the last election or when they first stood, who were over the age of 55 when they first stood, or who were members of more than one council, we find the proportions higher in county and rural district councils and lower in county boroughs and the former metropolitan boroughs.

Forty-eight per cent of all present councillors first served on their present council in 1958 or later. About 19% of councillors were over 55 years of age when they first stood; 15% were under 35. Thirty per cent of those who have served three years or less on their present council are also over 55.

7. Thirty-eight per cent of all councillors were returned unopposed and once councillors have served ten years they are much more likely to be returned unopposed. Employers and managers in small businesses, and farmers, were more likely to be returned unopposed than other socio-economic groups.

8. Nearly half of all aldermen are over 65, and 15% are over 75. Length of service seems more important than any other consideration in their appointment.

Characteristics of councillors—by council type

	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Socio-economic status:						
Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates	13	14	9	11	10	8
Professionals	9	6	8	6	7	7
	22(1)	20(2)	17(3=)	17(3=)	17(3=)	15(6)
Manual: skilled, semi-skilled, unskilled	14	24	18	21	21	8
Intermediate and junior non-manual	16	28	36	26	22	11
	30(5)	52(2)	54(1)	47(3)	43(4)	19(6)
Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates	16	15	17	23	24	16
Farmers — employers and managers	15	—	—	1	2	30
	31(2)	15(6)	17(5)	24(4)	26(3)	46(1)
Education—Elementary	38(4)	56(1)	36(5)	49(3)	53(2)	33(6)
Qualifications—None	42(4)	47(1)	40(6)	41(5)	44(3)	45(2)
Income—under £1,040 p.a. ..	44(6)	57(1)	46(4=)	51(3)	52(2)	46(4=)
Index of lower educational level and income	124(4=)	160(1)	122(6)	141(3)	149(2)	124(4=)
Opposed at last election	37(5)	64(3)	80(1)	55(4)	72(2)	30(6)
Opposed when first served ..	63(5)	85(2)	89(1)	82(3)	81(4)	43(6)
Aged under 45 when first served ..	33(6)	56(2)	65(1)	54(3)	51(4)	43(5)
Index of method of entry	133(5)	205(2)	234(1)	191(4)	204(3)	116(6)
Attachment index	340(2)	341(1)	191(6)	278(4)	277(5)	300(3)

(Numbers in parentheses represent rank order of council types.)

9. There is a marked and continuous variation with age in many of the characteristics examined. Younger councillors are more likely to have won an opposed election, served fewer years, have higher education and qualifications.

Characteristics of councillors—by age

	Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%
Education—Elementary	35(3)	45(2)	47(1)
Qualifications—None	31(3)	45(2)	49(1)
Income—under £1,040 p.a.	42(3)	48(2)	59(1)
Index of lower educational level and income	108(3)	138(2)	155(1)
Opposed at last election	69(1)	51(2)	33(3)
Opposed when first served	77(1)	68(2)	59(3)
Index of method of entry	146(1)	119(2)	92(3)

10. The following table shows the way in which education, qualifications and income vary in the four main socio-economic groups. The sharpest differences are in the position of the manual workers on one hand and the employers and managers in larger businesses on the other. There are much smaller differences between the groups on the method of entry to council.

Characteristics of councillors—
by socio-economic group

	Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates and professionals	Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%
Education—Elementary	24(4)	38(3)	46(2)	79(1)
Qualifications—None	24(4)	49(2)	42(3)	60(1)
Income—under £1,040 p.a.	26(4)	39(3)	58(2)	80(1)
Index of lower educational level and income	74(4)	126(3)	146(2)	219(1)
Opposed at last election	58(1)	40(4)	54(2)	45(3)
Opposed when first served	70(3)	58(4)	78(1)	74(2)
Index of method of entry	128(2)	98(4)	132(1)	119(3)

CHAPTER II

Becoming a Councillor

Perhaps the main interest of the Maud Committee is to be found in the expression 'how local government might best continue to attract and retain people of the calibre necessary', which is embodied in the committee's terms of reference. It is central to such an interest to ask the questions 'What kind of people become local government councillors and what is the process by which they become councillors?'. Chapter I gave some information about the characteristics of councillors. This chapter is concerned with the process of recruitment.

Attachment to the Area

It has already been shown that just over a third of all councillors were born in the area in which they now reside, but over 60% of all councillors had lived for more than 25 years in the area and under 22% had lived in the area for less than 15 years. Very many present councillors, therefore, have had connections with their areas over a long period of time.

TABLE 2.1
'Was your family associated with council work before you became a councillor?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
Family associated in this area ..	% 14	% 18	% 10	% 11	% 11	% 18
Family associated in another area	12	9	9	9	9	17
Family not associated ..	74	72	79	80	80	65
Not answered ..	—	1	2	—	—	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

Table 2.1 shows that despite long-term connections with the areas three-quarters of councillors did not have any *family* association with council work in any area before becoming councillors. Family connections were a little more likely for rural district and county councillors than they were for others.

In contrast to this, a majority of councillors did have connections with council work through their personal friends, and in this case rather fewer rural district councillors have such a connection than other types of councillors (Table 2.2).

TABLE 2.2

'Before you became a councillor were any of your friends associated with council work?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
Friends associated in this area ..	% 55	% 52	% 66	% 57	% 61	% 46
Friends associated in another area ..	7	7	6	4	7	6
Friends not associated ..	38	40	26	37	32	48
Not answered ..	—	1	2	2	—	—
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

Manual workers were rather more likely than other councillors to have had friends associated with council work before they became councillors (Table 2.3).

TABLE 2.3

'Before you became a councillor where any of your friends associated with council work?'—
by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates & professionals	Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates and Farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
Friends associated in this area ..	% 55	% 52	% 54	% 49	% 71
Friends associated in another area ..	7	6	6	8	6
Friends not associated ..	38	42	40	43	23
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)

(The total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who were retired, had never worked or were in residual categories of employment.)

Sixty-nine per cent of councillors had all or most of their friends in their present area. In general councillors are somewhat more likely (69%) than the population (60%) to have all or most of their friends living in the same area. This is probably because, on average, present-day councillors have lived longer in their areas than the general population. Electors living in the old metropolitan boroughs, however, were less likely (42%) to have all or most of their friends in their area than was the rest of the population and the metropolitan borough councillors were less likely than other councillors to have all or most of their friends in their area.

Chapter II

These personal attachments to their areas or even the connections through friends with council work do not necessarily show the way in which councillors actually moved into council work. More direct questions were needed for this purpose.

What Brought Councillors Into Touch With Council Work ?

At an early stage in the interview councillors were asked to tell us about all the organisations, groups or clubs to which they belonged at the time of the interview. After reviewing their connections with extra-council organisations in this way they were asked 'Was it because of any of these activities that you first came into contact with people connected with council work?'. Over half of all councillors had come into contact with council work through membership of the organisations enumerated. The general view of the councillor is that of a busy man with roots in his constituency and connection with many different types of activity. It is, then, of some interest that nearly half of all councillors say that they *did not* come into contact with council work because of such activities.

Those councillors (52% of all) who said that connection with non-council organisations had brought them into contact with council work were asked to say which organisations were concerned. About one-third of all councillors said that it was membership of political parties or clubs which brought them into contact with council work. 11% of all councillors said that they came into contact with council work through trade unions or membership of other associations connected with their work. After political parties or clubs, religious or welfare organisations and various civic groups were the next most important means of contact with council work. Contact through organisations may be thought of as the more formal method of introduction to council work.

We may contrast those coming into touch with council work in this way with those who said they had *not* come into contact with council work through such organisational relationships. The latter were likely to claim that the contact had come through family connections, or because they were already on a parish council or through other contacts or direct relationships with councillors or others. These methods of contact are more informal and personal.

All the initial contacts with council work may be put into one context in the following way.

Table 2.4 brings out the general importance of political bodies or work organisations (T.U. or other) in the recruitment of local government councillors (45%). Relatively a much smaller part is played by other various special interest groups and public bodies (17%). Despite the fact that the day-to-day work of councils involves the interests and concerns of very many such bodies, they help to recruit, numerically, only slightly more councillors than are brought into contact through family and other private connections (14%), or through relationships with other councillors or councils (13%). Whilst in general only a minority of councillors had family associations with council work it seems that amongst those who came in through the more informal ways (otherwise than through organisations) over a third had family associations with council work

TABLE 2.4
How were councillors first brought into touch with council work?

	%	%	%
Through contact with other organisations	52		
Political bodies			34
T.U. or other work organisations			11
Welfare groups			
Religious groups		9	
Recreation and Social groups			
Civic and community groups or			
organisations connected with			
education		8	17
Other public bodies			
Not specified or not answered			4
Not through organisations but in some other way	48		
Family connection		9	
Other private connections		5	14
Already on parish council		7	
Through contact with other councillors		6	13
'Through work'			2
'Ideals of social service'			6
Other answers or not answered			13
	100		
	(1,235)		

(The percentages in the right hand column add to more than 100 because some informants gave more than one answer).

in their present or some other area and, for some groups of councillors, family connections appear to be an important means of recruitment. This is discussed further below.

It is, of course, to be expected that members of political parties would be more likely than others to come into council work through such a connection and 81% of councillors who had made contact through organisations were members of political parties. But 44% of those who had made contact in some other way were also members of political parties. Altogether nearly two-thirds of all councillors said that they were members of political parties.

TABLE 2.5
'Do you belong to a political party?'—
by method of first coming into contact with people connected with council work

	Total	Contact made	
		Through non-council organisations	In other ways
Party Member?	%	%	%
Yes	63	81	44
No	37	19	56
Total	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(639)	(591)

(The total of 1,235 includes 5 informants who did not give the method of coming into contact.)

Chapter II

Tables 2.6-2.9 show how the first means of contact differs for various groups of councillors. Political parties and clubs as well as trade unions were much more important for metropolitan borough councillors and county borough councillors and much less important for rural district councillors than for others. 72% of metropolitan borough councillors asserted that political parties and clubs had provided their initial contact with council work.

In contrast a very large proportion of rural district councillors came into touch with council work otherwise than through organisations. For example, nearly a quarter mentioned family connections or other 'private people' and almost as many mentioned other councillors or parish council work.

TABLE 2.6
How were councillors first brought into touch with council work? —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Through contact with other organisations:	52	55	81	85	67	21
Political bodies	(34)	(38)	(57)	(72)	(42)	(12)
T.U. or other work organisations	(11)	(11)	(22)	(21)	(14)	(3)
Welfare groups, Reli- gious groups, Recrea- tion and Social groups	(9)	(12)	(13)	(7)	(9)	(7)
Civic and Community groups or organisa- tions connected with education, other Public Bodies	(8)	(6)	(9)	(-)	(11)	(2)
Not specified or not answered	(4)	(6)	(2)	(-)	(6)	(5)
Not through organisations but in some other way:	48	45	19	15	33	79
Family connection ..	(9)	(9)	(4)	(4)	(8)	(14)
Other private connec- tions	(5)	(4)	(2)	(4)	(4)	(9)
Already on Parish Council	(7)	(10)	(-)	(-)	(-)	(13)
Through contact with other councillors ..	(6)	(7)	(2)	(-)	(7)	(8)
'Through work'	(2)	(2)	(5)	(2)	(3)	(2)
'Ideals of social service' Other answers or not answered	(6)	(3)	(1)	(-)	(2)	(12)
	(13)	(10)	(5)	(5)	(9)	(21)
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

(Bracketed percentages add to more than the total because some informants gave more than one contact.)

Employers and managers in small or large firms and professional workers were much less likely than manual workers and other non-manual non-professional workers to come in through political parties. A third of all manual worker councillors had come in through trade unions. For manual workers, family connections or private people had played an insignificant role but just under a quarter of the smaller employers and managers had been brought into council work through such contacts and another substantial group of the smaller employers and managers had come in through existing connections with councillors or other council work. In Chapter I it has been shown that manual workers were numerically under-represented on councils. Clearly, if it were not for the activities of political parties and trade unions, they would hardly be represented at all, since the informal channels play much less of a part for them than other councillors. The smaller employers, managers and farmers on the other hand have been shown to be numerically very much over-represented and this obviously results from their numerous private and other contacts with council work.

TABLE 2.7
How were councillors first brought into touch with council work? —
by socio-economic group

	Total		Employers & managers with 25 or more subordinates, and professionals		Employers & managers with under 25 subordinates, and farmers		Non-manual and own account non-professionals		Manual and agri-cultural workers	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Through contact with other organisations:	52		45		34		68		81	
Political bodies	(34)		(32)		(19)		(50)		(48)	
T.U. or other work organisations	(11)		(4)		(8)		(9)		(33)	
Welfare groups, Religious groups, Recreation and Social groups	(9)		(14)		(4)		(11)		(7)	
Civic and Community groups or organisations connected with education, other Public Bodies	(8)		(5)		(8)		(11)		(8)	
Not specified or not answered	(4)		(1)		(3)		(3)		(8)	
Not through organisations but in some other way: ..	48		55		66		32		19	
Family connection	(9)		(6)		(15)		(8)		(2)	
Other private connections	(5)		(9)		(7)		(2)		(-)	
Already on Parish Council	(7)		(9)		(12)		(3)		(2)	
Through contact with other councillors	(6)		(4)		(9)		(3)		(2)	
'Through work'	(2)		(4)		(2)		(3)		(3)	
'Ideals of social service'	(6)		(5)		(7)		(5)		(6)	
Other answers or not answered	(13)		(18)		(14)		(8)		(4)	
Total	100		100		100		100		100	
(Numbers)	(1,235)		(188)		(463)		(269)		(197)	

(The total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who were retired, had never worked or were in residual categories of employment.)

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Women are very much under-represented on councils but proportionately, organisational connections seem to have played the same part in recruiting women as men. Trade unions have been much less important in their recruitment, but religious and welfare organisations were more important than they were for men. The electors' survey shows that women were much less likely than men to be members of any kind of organisation and since half of all councillors are brought into touch with council work through such membership it seems there may not be much of an increase in the numbers of women councillors unless women begin to take a bigger part in all kinds of organisational activities, or unless the organisations to which women belong increase their actual sponsorship of candidates for council work.

TABLE 2.8
How were councillors first brought into touch with council work? —
by Sex

	Total		Male		Female	
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Through contact with other organisations:	52		52		56	
Political bodies		(34)		(34)		(38)
T.U. or other work organisations		(11)		(12)		(2)
Welfare groups, Religious groups, Recreation and Social groups		(9)		(8)		(18)
Civic and Community groups or organisations connected with education, other Public Bodies		(8)		(8)		(5)
Not specified or not answered		(4)		(4)		(6)
Not through organisations but in some other way:	48		48		44	
Family connection		(9)		(8)		(15)
Other private connections		(5)		(6)		(4)
Already on Parish Council		(7)		(8)		(2)
Through contact with other councillors ..		(6)		(5)		(6)
'Through work'		(2)		(2)		(2)
'Ideals of social service'		(6)		(6)		(4)
Other answers or not answered		(13)		(13)		(11)
Total	100		100		100	
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)		(1,057)		(178)	

Younger councillors (under 45) were more likely than older ones (over 65) to have been brought into contact with council work through political parties and trade unions and less so through religious, welfare and other civic groups. It is worth noting that those aged 21-45 are represented on councils at only half their strength in the general population. Once again if it were not through the political parties and trade unions an important section of the population would be even more under-represented numerically than it now is.

TABLE 2.9
How were councillors first brought into touch with council work? —
by Age

	Total		Age					
			Under 45		45-64		65 and over	
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Through contact with other organisations:	52		55		55		44	
Political bodies	(34)		(41)		(34)		(29)	
T.U. or other work organisations	(11)		(10)		(11)		(7)	
Welfare groups, Religious groups, Recreation and Social groups	(9)		(3)		(11)		(8)	
Civic and Community groups or organisations connected with education, other Public Bodies	(8)		(2)		(10)		(9)	
Not specified or not answered	(4)		(5)		(4)		(3)	
Not through organisations but in some other way:	48		45		45		56	
Family connection	(9)		(9)		(10)		(9)	
Other private connections	(5)		(10)		(3)		(8)	
Already on Parish Council	(7)		(4)		(6)		(11)	
Through contact with other councillors 'Through work'	(2)		(2)		(2)		(3)	
'Ideals of social service'	(6)		(5)		(6)		(6)	
Other answers or not answered	(13)		(9)		(13)		(11)	
Total	100		100		100		100	
(Numbers)	(1,235)		(234)		(704)		(280)	

(The total of 1,235 includes 17 informants who did not give their age.)

The Invitation to Stand

Some further light is thrown on the relationships which brought people into council work by a series of questions on how councillors came to stand for office. A substantial minority (21%) of councillors claim that they took the initiative in the process of becoming a councillor. Rural district councillors are more likely to claim this than others. Just over one-third of all councillors claimed that they were asked to stand by a political party but 70% of all metropolitan borough councillors and 62% of all county borough councillors say that they were asked by a political party. On the other hand only 8% of rural district councillors were asked to stand by a political party. The invitation to stand came from other councillors or ex-councillors for just under a quarter of all councillors but over 40% of all rural district councillors say that they were invited to stand by other councillors or ex-councillors. A further 19% of rural district councillors claim that they were invited to stand by 'private people'.

TABLE 2.10
 'When you first considered standing was it your own idea or were you
 asked by some person or organisation?' — by Council Type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Own idea to stand ..	21	19	11	15	19	28
Asked to stand (by): ..	78	80	87	83	81	71
Political party ..	(35)	(40)	(62)	(70)	(47)	(8)
Councillors/ex-council- lors ..	(23)	(19)	(11)	(15)	(15)	(40)
Private people ..	(12)	(15)	(5)	(3)	(8)	(19)
Other non-council organisations ..	(6)	(3)	(2)	(3)	(8)	(4)
Trade union ..	(4)	(5)	(8)	(4)	(4)	(1)
Can't remember ..	(2)	(2)	(2)	(-)	(2)	(2)
Not answered ..	(-)	(2)	(2)	(-)	(-)	(-)
Not answered ..	1	1	2	2	-	1
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

(Bracketed percentages in this and subsequent similar tables are more than the total because some informants gave more than one individual or group who asked them to stand.)

If Table 2.6 and Table 2.10 are compared it seems that about the same proportion of people are first brought into contact with council work through political parties as are asked to stand by them. The position is different with the other media through which people are brought into touch. For example, whilst 11% are brought into touch through trade unions and 17% through religious, welfare and other civic groups only 4% and 6% respectively are *invited to stand* by such bodies. Other councillors or ex-councillors (23%) or 'private people' (12%), however, play a bigger part in inviting people to stand than they do in bringing them into touch with the work (6% and 5% respectively).

Similarly (Tables 2.7 and 2.11), the proportions of the four socio-economic groups who are brought into touch by political parties are very similar to the proportions in those groups who are asked to stand by political parties but whereas 33% of manual workers were brought into touch by trade unions and other work organisations only half this number (16%) were asked to stand by such bodies. 19% of the councillors who are employers and managers in the larger businesses were brought into touch with council work by religious, welfare or civic groups but only 2% were asked to stand by such groups. Apart from the political parties (who ask only 35% to stand) the other formal channels for bringing people into touch do *not* function very well as recruiting agencies for council work and because of this very many of those who do become councillors only now do so because of the way the informal and personal contact system of recruitment fills the gap. But it must be repeated that, on some types of council, recruitment through the political bodies is the dominating means and it is the very heavy weight of rural district councils in the total picture which lends such emphasis to recruitment through personal contact.

TABLE 2.11
'When you first considered standing was it your own idea
or where you asked by some person or organisation?' — by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers and managers with 25 or more sub- ordinates and professionals	Employers and managers with under 25 sub- ordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agri- cultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Own idea to stand	21	29	19	18	22
Asked to stand (by): ..	78	70	80	81	77
Political Party	(35)	(34)	(22)	(51)	(53)
Councillors/ex-councillors ..	(23)	(23)	(36)	(13)	(4)
Private people	(12)	(14)	(15)	(6)	(5)
Other non-council organi- sations	(6)	(2)	(8)	(9)	(5)
Trade union	(4)	(1)	(1)	(2)	(16)
Can't remember/not answered	(2)	(1)	(2)	(4)	(1)
Not answered	1	1	1	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)

(The total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who were retired, had never worked or were in residual categories of employment.)

Nearly half of all councillors, it will be remembered, were not brought into touch through any kind of organisation (except for possible membership of parish councils). Amongst this very large group only 13% were asked to stand by political parties and 55% by councillors, ex-councillors or private people. The political parties, then, do *not* often look outside their own ranks when they are searching for council recruits.

TABLE 2.12
'When you first considered standing was it your own idea or were you asked by some
person or organisation?' — by whether connection with non-council organisations
brought councillors into contact with people connected with council work

	Total	Did non-council organisations bring contact?	
		Yes	No
	%	%	%
Own idea to stand	21	15	27
Asked to stand (by):	78	84	72
Political Party	(35)	(57)	(13)
Councillors/ex-councillors ..	(23)	(12)	(36)
Private people	(12)	(5)	(19)
Other non-council organisations ..	(6)	(9)	(3)
Trade union	(4)	(6)	(1)
Can't remember/not answered ..	(2)	(2)	(2)
Not answered	(1)	(1)	(1)
Total	104	107	102
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(639)	(591)

(The total of 1,235 includes 5 informants who did not give the method of coming into contact.)

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Councillors with some form of further education were more often recruited by political parties than were others but their position is close to that of councillors with elementary education. Those with only secondary education, however, were more often recruited by other councillors and ex-councillors. (Table 2.13).

TABLE 2.13
'When you first considered standing was it your own idea
or were you asked by some person or organisation?' — by education

	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Further
	%	%	%	%
Own idea to stand	21	22	18	25
Asked to stand (by):	(78)	(77)	(81)	(74)
Political Party	35	39	29	44
Councillors/ex-councillors ..	23	18	34	14
Private people	12	12	10	16
Other non-council organisations	6	7	7	2
Trade union	4	6	3	—
Can't remember/not interested	2	1	1	3
Not answered	1	1	1	1
Total	104	106	103	105
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(518)	(467)	(216)

(The total of 1,235 includes 34 informants who did not give their education.)

Table 2.14 shows that just over a third of all councillors were under 40 when they were first asked to stand. The metropolitan borough councillors (59% under 40) and the county borough councillors (49% under 40) were more likely to have been involved in a decision to stand before 40 than others. Rural district councillors were more likely than others to have been involved in such a decision when they were over the age of 50 (42%).

Analysis of the method of recruitment by the age of councillors when they were first asked to stand shows that the political parties were responsible for a larger proportion of the younger recruits than of the older ones (Table 2.15). About half of all councillors who were first asked to stand when they were below the age of 40 were recruited by political parties, but only about 20% of those over 50. On the other hand about 39% of those over 50 were recruited by other councillors or ex-councillors, but only 14% of those under 50. This finding emphasises the earlier conclusion that the effect of recruitment by political parties is to *increase* the number of younger councillors.

TABLE 2.14
'How old were you when you were first asked to stand
(or put yourself forward)?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Under 30	9	8	13	22	6	11
30-39	26	27	36	37	33	11
40-49	36	34	30	22	40	36
50-59	20	18	14	19	15	29
60-69	7	9	4	—	4	11
70 or over	2	3	1	—	2	2
Not answered	—	1	2	—	—	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

TABLE 2.15

'When you first considered standing was it your own idea or were you asked by some person or organisation?' — by age when first asked to stand

	Total	Age when first asked to stand				
		Under 30	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 or over
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Own idea to stand ..	21	16	23	17	25	29
Asked to stand (by): ..	(78)	(83)	(76)	(82)	(74)	(70)
Political party ..	35	47	50	34	23	18
Councillors/ ex-councillors ..	23	11	15	21	40	35
Private people ..	12	18	8	16	9	9
Other non-council organisations ..	6	5	4	9	2	7
Trade union ..	4	4	4	4	3	3
Can't remember/not answered ..	2	1	2	2	2	4
Not answered ..	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total ..	104	103	107	104	105	106
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(115)	(313)	(445)	(248)	(100)

(The total of 1,235 includes 14 informants who did not give their age when first asked to stand.)

Women were somewhat *less* likely to be asked to stand under 40 (21%) than were men (37%) but rather *more* likely than men to be asked to stand between the ages of 40 and 50 (Table 2.16).

TABLE 2.16

'How old were you when you were first asked to stand?' — by sex

	Total	Male	Female
	%	%	%
Under 30	9	11	2
30-39	26	26	19
40-49	36	34	47
50-59	20	20	22
60 or over	8	8	6
Not answered	1	1	4
Total	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(1,057)	(178)

Most of those (68%) who said that they had been asked to stand said that they knew their sponsors 'very well' but about 9% admitted that they knew them only 'slightly'. Ninety-four per cent of those asked to stand by trade

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unions, 71% of those asked by councillors or ex-councillors, and 62% of those asked by political parties knew their sponsors 'very well' (Table 2.17).

TABLE 2.17

'How well did you know those who asked you to stand?' — by person or organisation who asked councillor to stand

		Person or organisation asking councillor to stand					
		Total	Political party	Councillors /ex-councillors	Private people	Other non-council organisations	Trade union
		%	%	%	%	%	%
Very well ..	..	68	62	71	82	68	94
Fairly well ..	..	22	29	16	14	22	2
Slightly ..	..	9	8	12	4	10	4
Not answered ..	..	1	1	1	—	—	—
Total ..	..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	..	(976)	(440)	(292)	(148)	(72)	(46)

(Column totals add to more than 976 because some informants named more than one person or organisation.)

When councillors were asked to say why they thought they had been asked to stand, a very wide range of answers was given. These are displayed in Table 2.18. The largest group of answers taking all councillors, mentioned one or other feature of the councillor's personality or abilities. It includes such responses as: 'they could trust me' or 'they thought I had the right temperament'. Eighteen per cent of reasons given included such answers as 'well known in area' or 'active in non-council organisations'. One-third of metropolitan borough councillors said that they had been asked because they had helped with or been active in a political party or trade union. A higher proportion of both metropolitan and county borough councillors gave this reason than any other. Rural district councillors, on the other hand, were much less likely to give this reason for being invited to stand than others.

About 14% of the reasons given comprise such answers as 'shortage of candidates' or 'it was known that I had the time'. These reasons were also more likely to be given by rural district councillors and much less likely to be given by county borough councillors than others. Four of the 46 metropolitan borough councillors who were asked this question said that they had been asked to stand because 'I was young'.

TABLE 2.18
'Why do you think you were asked to stand?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Personality characteristics	14	15	11	7	19	8
Special abilities	10	11	7	15	9	10
Well known in area ..	9	8	12	7	6	12
Active in non-council organisations	9	9	7	9	6	10
Shortage of candidates ..	9	8	5	7	9	12
'It was known I had the time'	5	7	3	7	3	7
Had helped/been active in Party/Trade Union ..	12	10	23	34	15	4
Because of interest ..	12	10	12	11	14	9
'I was young'	2	2	2	9	3	1
To oppose specific person	2	2	3	—	1	3
Other answers	9	9	13	7	10	6
Not answered	—	2	1	—	—	—
Does not apply (not asked to stand)	21	19	11	15	19	28
Total	114	112	110	128	114	110
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

(Percentages add up to more than 100 because some informants gave more than one answer.)

The Decision to Stand

How much consideration has gone into the decision to stand? Table 2.19 shows that a fairly large proportion of councillors claimed that before being asked to stand they had never considered it. Twenty-three per cent of all those who had been asked to stand, or about 18% of all councillors claimed that they 'had thought much' about getting on to the council before they were asked to stand. Thirty-six per cent of metropolitan borough councillors said this and only 15% of rural district councillors.

TABLE 2.19
'How much had you thought about getting on the council before being asked to stand?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Had thought much	23	29	29	36	25	15
Had thought a little	34	27	38	20	34	37
Never considered it	42	42	30	39	41	47
Not answered	1	2	3	5	—	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers asked to stand) ..	(976)	(124)	(119)	(39)	(390)	(304)

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Table 2.20 shows, however, that no matter how much previous consideration had been given, once they were asked or had made up their minds to put themselves forward as candidates they were, on the whole, likely to accept or be accepted very quickly. Just under a quarter of county borough councillors, however, said that they waited more than a year before accepting the invitation. Only very few rural district councillors said that they waited as long as this and more of them than any other type of councillor said that they had accepted the invitation 'almost at once'.

TABLE 2.20
'When did you accept (or were accepted)?' —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Almost at once ..	71	70	59	70	65	81
Within a year ..	13	15	16	17	14	11
After a year ..	14	13	22	13	19	6
Not answered ..	2	2	3	—	2	2
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

Table 2.21 shows what the councillors *now* think was the *main* thing which influenced their decision to stand. The largest group of reasons given expressed a feeling that some specific situation should be dealt with or that some specific case needed pleading. Twenty-one per cent of all councillors gave these reasons for the decision and a further 6% said that they wanted to represent the interest of particular groups of the population who they thought were under-represented. Nineteen per cent of all councillors claimed that their decision was made because of some ideals of social service. If we add these three groups of reasons we have nearly one-half of all councillors who in one phrase or another expressed the idea of public service as their main motivation in entering council work.

In contrast we may set the group of reasons which simply expressed the conviction of councillors at the time they made their decision that they had a personal contribution to make. More than a third of all councillors gave such reasons as: 'I felt I could do a useful job'; 'My friends believed I could do it'; 'I had a personal interest in it'; or 'I had the specific qualifications needed'. It is, however, difficult to be sure about the mixture of personal and broader social motives which might be at work in such a decision without further more detailed analysis.

Amongst rural district councillors as many as 10% said that they were the 'only suitable candidates available'.

TABLE 2.21

'What was the main thing which influenced your decision to stand?' —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Remedy specific situation/ plead specific cause ..	21	21	19	31	18	25
Certain groups under- represented	6	5	5	2	9	3
Ideals of social service ..	19	19	22	18	21	14
Personal interest (desire for action)	13	19	16	9	11	14
Character qualification/felt could do useful job ..	11	6	7	13	13	10
Specific qualifications ..	8	9	7	4	6	11
Party/friends believed I could do it	5	7	11	—	6	2
Only suitable candidate available	6	3	1	2	5	10
To further interests of political party	5	2	7	15	6	3
Family approval/family tradition	2	3	2	4	2	2
Other answers	2	3	1	2	1	2
Don't know/not answered	2	3	2	—	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

How much did councillors know about council work when they first stood?

Whatever the motives which lie behind the decision to become a councillor, many councillors now feel that when they first began their council life they were not altogether well informed about council work. Table 2.22 shows that nearly half of all councillors said that they really knew 'not much' about the work of a councillor when they first stood for the council. Only amongst the county borough councillors did fewer than 47% think that they knew 'not much' about council work. Less than a quarter of all councillors now feel that they knew 'quite a lot' about council work when they first stood and not more than a third of any type of councillor thought this.

TABLE 2.22
 'How much did you know about the work of a councillor
 when you first stood?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Not much known	48	47	37	54	48	50
Something known	27	19	28	22	27	31
Quite a lot known	23	32	34	22	23	17
Not answered ..	2	2	1	2	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

It is of some interest that the position on this issue does not vary much with education. Forty per cent of those with some form of further education and 46% of those with only elementary education said that they knew 'not much' when they first stood.

TABLE 2.23
 'How much did you know about the work of a councillor
 when you first stood?' — by education

	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Further
	%	%	%	%
Not much known ..	48	46	52	40
Something known ..	27	28	24	32
Quite a lot known ..	23	25	21	26
Not answered	2	1	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(518)	(467)	(216)

(The total of 1,235 includes 34 informants who did not give their education.)

All councillors were asked to say what they now think was the main thing they had not known about council work when they first stood for the council. The answers are presented in Table 2.24. About 10% of all councillors now say that when they stood they 'understood everything' about council work. Four per cent say, on the other hand, that they 'understood nothing'. A third or more of all kinds of councillors said that their main initial ignorance concerned the procedures of the council and, in particular, the workings of committees. The second largest group of councillors now feel that they had been somewhat ignorant about the 'financial' side of council work. Four per cent of all councillors now say that they had not realised the amount of their own time which would be involved in council work and only 2% say now that they did not realise the 'importance of politics' in local government. These are the

views of people who were still councillors and who presumably had not been greatly affected by the subsequent discovery of these difficulties of time and politics.

TABLE 2.24

'What was the main thing you did not know when you first stood?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Procedure/working of committees	36	32	36	37	36	36
Financial side	15	10	12	9	18	16
Frustrations/delays/amount of time before decisions	5	4	11	4	4	3
Relationship between central government/ county and council ..	4	5	8	2	6	2
Amount of time it would take	4	6	7	4	4	2
Small amount of power wielded by councils ..	4	1	3	11	5	4
Housing side	4	—	1	4	1	9
Other specific subjects dealt with by council ..	3	6	1	—	3	2
Importance of politics in local government ..	2	1	5	7	1	1
Understood everything ..	10	12	4	9	10	9
Understood nothing ..	4	7	5	9	5	3
Other answers	7	15	6	4	5	9
Not answered	2	1	1	—	2	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

In view of the substantial proportions of councillors who are willing to admit that their knowledge of council work fell short when they first stood, it is of interest to note to what extent councillors had made efforts to improve their knowledge of matters dealt with by councils since taking up their positions. All councillors were asked 'Since becoming a councillor, *apart* from the experience you get during the course of your council work, have you been able to take any steps to acquire special knowledge that might be useful in doing it?' The answers are displayed in Table 2.25 which shows that a majority of councillors say that they had not taken any such steps. County borough councillors were more likely, and rural district councillors less likely, than others to claim that they had taken steps to acquire knowledge which might be useful for council work.

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Once again there was little difference in the position of those with further or elementary education. Those with secondary education, however, were more likely than others to say that they had not taken any steps to acquire such knowledge.

TABLE 2.25

'Since becoming a councillor, apart from the experience you get doing council work, have you been able to take any steps to acquire special knowledge that might be useful?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	(42)	(41)	(53)	(41)	(47)	(33)
Read books	21	19	16	20	24	20
Taken courses	14	17	24	13	18	5
Attended conferences ..	12	10	16	13	12	11
Studied privately ..	4	4	6	4	4	3
Other answers	1	—	1	—	2	—
Not answered	1	2	1	—	—	—
No	58	57	46	59	53	67
Not answered	—	2	1	—	—	—
Total	110	111	111	109	113	106
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

(Percentages add up to more than 100 because some informants gave more than one answer.)

Councillors' Opinions on Recruitment

The first part of this chapter presented the information collected about the ways in which councillors had been recruited to council work. Their own method of recruitment, together with their experience as councillors, will have shaped their own views on the characteristics or qualities necessary for council work. It was therefore thought useful to ask councillors some questions about their views on this theme. After they had been asked questions about their own method of entry to council work, early experience as a councillor, and some aspects of their reactions to their own activities on the council, all councillors were asked: 'As a result of your actual experience, which personal characteristics do you think are necessary to make a good councillor?'

Table 2.26 presents *all* the answers which councillors gave to this question. On average five different aspects of personality were mentioned by every two councillors, or two and a half items per head.

TABLE 2.26

'Which personal characteristics are necessary to make a good councillor?' —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sociability:	89	70	86	87	89	98
Broadminded, patient, impartial, sense of hum- our, pleasant person- ality, good mixer, good speaker.						
Integrity and leadership: ..	64	57	72	61	76	52
Integrity, sincerity, strongminded, able to lead, risks being un- popular.						
Intellectual qualities: ..	37	36	37	41	37	38
Intelligent, common- sense, level-headed, fore- sight and vision.						
Education or qualifications: ..	22	23	19	17	17	28
Good education, specialised knowledge and qualifications, organising ability.						
Community consciousness: ..	21	23	28	26	19	18
Willingness to help others.						
Ability to work hard ..	15	21	14	20	16	10
Other answers	5	8	8	4	4	4
Not answered	1	2	—	—	1	1
Total	254	240	264	256	259	249
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

(Percentages add up to more than 100 because some informants gave more than one answer.)

Table 2.27 picks out the characteristics which councillors said were the *most important*. Characteristics which can be broadly grouped under the headings 'Sociability' or 'Integrity and Leadership' provide a majority of all the answers given. Sixty-two per cent of all councillors thus chose, as the *main* aspect of personality necessary for a good councillor, qualities which may be said to relate to character rather than intellect or training. Twenty-six per cent of councillors chose as the *main* personality characteristic necessary for a good councillor, 'Intellectual qualities' or the results of 'education and training'. These findings must be contrasted with the frequently voiced assumption that it is management or professional training and experience that is most needed for effective council work. Only 7% of councillors in fact chose education or training as the *main* necessary characteristic of a councillor, and fewer than a

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quarter of all councillors mentioned these characteristics at all in their assessment of necessary personal characteristics. Similar rather small weighting is given to what we have called 'community consciousness' and even less to such characteristics as 'the ability to work hard'.

'Sociability' aspects were less likely to be mentioned by county councillors than others but there are few marked differences between different types of councillors on other items. For example, there were no very large differences in the aspects of personality mentioned by councillors of different ages except that councillors aged 45-64 were somewhat more likely to mention 'sociability' or 'integrity and leadership' than were those over 65 and women were somewhat more likely than men to mention 'community consciousness'.

TABLE 2.27

'Which personal characteristics are necessary to make a good councillor?'
(Most important answer only) — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Sociability:	36	25	34	35	36	39
Broadminded, patient, impartial, sense of hum- our, pleasant person- ality, good mixer, good speaker.						
Integrity and leadership:	26	26	30	22	30	21
Integrity, sincerity, strongminded, able to lead, risks being un- popular.						
Intellectual qualities: ..	19	16	13	26	20	19
Intelligent, common- sense, level-headed, fore- sight and vision.						
Education or qualifications:	7	11	6	4	4	9
Good education, special- ised knowledge and qualifications, organising ability.						
Community consciousness:	6	10	8	4	5	7
Willingness to help others.						
Ability to work hard ..	3	7	4	7	3	2
Other answers	2	3	3	2	2	2
Not answered	1	2	2	—	—	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

It might be thought that the rather different kinds of people brought in through the different channels of recruitment might have different views on the characteristics thought necessary. Those coming into touch through other organisations were somewhat more likely to mention 'integrity and leadership' (72%) than were those coming in through the more informal channels or personal contacts (57%). Apart from this, however, those brought into contact with council work through their work with other organisations mentioned the different aspects of personality in very much the same proportions as those brought into touch through more personal or informal channels. It seems that, however the different channels of recruitment may affect the kind of people brought in, once they become councillors they form very much the same general view of the necessary characteristics for council work.

How serious are the obstacles to recruitment which now exist? Tables 2.28 and 2.29 show the results of asking all councillors the question 'Do you personally know any people who, in recent years, could have made good councillors but who would not stand?' and why they thought such people would not stand. Very many councillors claim to know people who have refused to stand. Rural district and metropolitan borough councillors were less likely than others to say that they knew of people who had refused to stand. 'Lack of time' is the main reason advanced for unwillingness to stand, closely followed by 'financial/business reasons'. 'Domestic/family reasons' are, perhaps, very close to the first two reasons given. These three reasons are given by nearly two-thirds of all councillors. Next to them answers commenting on the difficulties raised by the 'party political structure' do not bulk large.

It is interesting to compare the reasons advanced by councillors for some others giving up with their explanations of why possible candidates would not stand. This latter question is dealt with more fully later on, but it appears from such a comparison that councillors think that lack of time is rather more likely to stop people becoming councillors than to force councillors to give up the work once they have got into it.

TABLE 2.28
'Do you know any people who in recent years could have made good councillors but would not stand?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs and urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	74	71	89	63	86	57
No	25	27	10	37	13	42
Not answered	1	2	1	—	1	1
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

TABLE 2.29

'Main reasons why people who would have made good councillors did not stand' —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	Nos.	%	%
Lack of time	32	24	26	(11)	32	38
Financial/business reasons	26	40	38	(4)	19	26
Domestic/family reasons	7	5	10	(4)	8	5
Party political structure of council	8	3	8	(5)	14	—
Low status of council ..	4	4	5	(2)	4	3
Fear/dislike of elections/ consciousness of inadequacy	4	5	4	—	7	2
Lack of interest/lazy/ selfish	8	11	1	(2)	4	15
Other answers	9	5	7	(1)	11	8
Not answered	2	3	1	—	1	3
Total	100	100	100		100	100
(Numbers of those know- ing people who would have made good councillors) ..	(913)	(108)	(119)	(29)	(417)	(240)

County and county borough councillors are very much more likely than others to believe that people will not stand for council because of fears of the effects on their financial or business situations. The rural district councillors are more likely than others to think that suitable people will not stand because of lack of time, and the argument that suitable people are put off by party politics is advanced more frequently by municipal borough and urban district councillors than others.

Do councillors think that, on balance, such obstacles to recruitment affect the kind of candidates who do agree to stand? Table 2.30 shows that two-thirds of councillors think there is a great deal of difficulty in getting the 'right kind of candidate' to stand. The metropolitan borough councillors are much less likely to say this than others. Councillors who are manual workers are rather *less* likely than those who are non-manual and non-professional workers to believe that there is 'a great deal of difficulty' in finding suitable candidates. Younger councillors (under 45 or 45-64) are more likely (72% or 68%) than those over 65 (56%) to believe that recruitment of suitable candidates is difficult.

TABLE 2.30

'Is there difficulty in getting the right kind of candidate to stand?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Great deal of difficulty ..	66	62	71	44	77	57
Not much difficulty ..	32	36	27	50	22	40
Don't know	1	—	—	4	—	2
Not answered	1	2	2	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

TABLE 2.31

'Is there difficulty in getting the right kind of candidate to stand?' — by age

	Total	Age		
		Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%
Great deal of difficulty	66	72	68	56
Not much difficulty ..	32	28	30	41
Don't know	1	—	1	—
Not answered	1	—	1	3
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(234)	(704)	(280)

(The total of 1,235 includes 17 informants who did not give their age.)

Councillors with some form of further education were also more likely than others to say that they felt there was 'a great deal of difficulty' in finding suitable candidates but those with elementary or secondary education were twice as likely to say that there was 'not much difficulty'.

TABLE 2.32

'Is there difficulty in getting the right kind of candidate to stand?' — by education

	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Further
	%	%	%	%
Great deal of difficulty	66	61	66	84
Not much difficulty ..	32	37	31	15
Don't know	1	—	2	—
Not answered	1	2	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(518)	(467)	(216)

(The total of 1,235 includes 34 informants who did not give their education.)

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Councillors' views on the personal characteristics which are necessary to make a good councillor are not related to their opinions on the degree of difficulty experienced in finding suitable candidates. This seems further confirmation of the opinion already expressed that, once people have become councillors, they begin to share a rather general view of what kind of people council work needs.

In view of the relatively low weight put by councillors on the place of education, specialised knowledge and qualifications, or organising ability, amongst the personality characteristics thought necessary for a good councillor, it is of interest to consider what councillors think about the use of training courses for councillors. Table 2.33 shows that, whilst the great majority of councillors think that such training courses are useful, most of them think that the courses should not be compulsory.

TABLE 2.33
'Are training courses for councillors necessary?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Training courses:						
Should be compulsory	19	18	25	26	26	10
Should be voluntary ..	63	56	62	63	59	70
Are not needed ..	16	20	10	11	14	20
Don't know ..	1	5	2	—	1	—
Not answered ..	1	1	1	—	—	—
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

Older councillors (over 65) were more likely than others to think that training courses are not needed (Table 2.34). Perhaps this reflects not so much a judgement on what the job requires as personal unwillingness on the part of older councillors to be involved.

TABLE 2.34
'Are training courses for councillors necessary?' — by age

	Total	Age		
		Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%
Training courses:				
Should be compulsory	19	21	22	13
Should be voluntary	63	64	64	58
Are not needed ..	16	13	13	27
Don't know ..	1	1	1	1
Not answered ..	1	1	—	1
Total ..	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(234)	(704)	(280)

(The total of 1,235 includes 17 informants who did not give their age.)

We analysed this question in relation to the answers given to the questions asking if councillors had taken any steps to acquire special knowledge. Those who did *not* think training courses were necessary were much less likely (29%) than others to have done anything to acquire special knowledge thought to be useful for their council duties (Table 2.35).

TABLE 2.35
'Have steps been taken to acquire special knowledge since becoming a councillor?' — by attitude towards training courses for councillors

	Total	Training courses		
		Should be compulsory	Should be voluntary	Are not needed
	%	%	%	%
Steps taken to acquire knowledge:				
Yes	42	54	42	29
No	58	46	58	71
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(239)	(781)	(198)

(The total of 1,235 includes 17 informants who did not answer the question on training courses.)

What are the results on the council composition of the various pulls and pressures of people to stand or resign from councils? Detailed information on the characteristics of existing councillors has already been presented. This shows to what extent councillors are like or unlike the general population. It is of interest to contrast with these facts the views of councillors on the same issue. All councillors were asked: 'Previous studies have shown that in some areas some sections of the population are not well represented—would you say that the members of your council are a good cross-section of the people in this area or not?'

Table 2.36 shows that the majority of councillors did indeed believe that the position on their own councils gave a good cross-section of people in the area. Just under a quarter, however, think that in some respects this is not the case.

TABLE 2.36
'Are members of your council a good cross-section of people in your area?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
Yes, good cross-section ..	76	71	75	76	74	82
No, some not represented	23	28	24	20	25	18
Don't know	—	—	1	2	—	—
Not answered	1	1	—	2	1	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

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Those councillors who thought that their own councils were not a good cross-section were then asked: 'Which groups do you feel are not well represented?' No particular groups were mentioned and the unprompted answers to the question are given in the first, left hand, column of Table 2.37. All councillors were then asked about particular named groups: 'Would you say that any of the following groups are not sufficiently represented?' These results are presented in the second column from the left of Table 2.37. It will be seen that, when no groups were mentioned, relatively small proportions of councillors themselves thought of deficiencies in the representation of any particular group. Eight per cent spontaneously suggested that the 'working-class' was not well represented. Six per cent felt that professional or managerial people were not well represented. Only four per cent thought that younger people under 40 were not well represented and only 2% thought that women were under-represented. When these groups were named, however, much larger proportions of councillors were willing to say that they thought they were not well represented. We can, for example, contrast the 4% who spontaneously mentioned under-representation of younger people under 40 with more than half of all councillors who thought that this group was under-represented when they were reminded of its existence. Similarly, only 2% of councillors mentioned under-representation of women spontaneously but 35% were willing to say that women were under-represented when they were mentioned. The conclusion may be drawn from these contradictions that, whilst many councillors are willing to acknowledge these deficiencies in representation, they do not regard them as matters of very great urgency. It is interesting to note that it is the county and rural district councillors who were more likely to believe that there is a deficiency of younger people under 40. These councillors are, of course, on average older than others and they seem conscious of the fact. Rural district councillors are more conscious than others of a shortage of women in their ranks.

TABLE 2.37
'Which groups do you feel are not sufficiently represented?' —
by council type

	Un-prompted	Prompted					
	All councils	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Professional/managerial people	6	29	25	29	15	35	25
Working class people	8	22	26	5	17	19	30
Younger people under 40	4	51	70	37	39	44	57
Women	2	35	24	34	26	33	42
Specific political groups	2	25	20	22	50	34	16
Business people/traders	5	25	20	22	24	32	19

A substantial majority (71%-82%) of councillors in different types of areas were willing to say that members of their own council were 'a good cross-section of people' in their area and this was true as well of the main socio-economic groups (67%-86%). Indeed the group which is, in fact, most severely under-represented numerically, the manual worker councillors, were most likely of any group to think that their own councils *were* a good cross-section. It was the employers and managers in larger businesses and professionals, as well as the non-manual workers, who were more likely to believe that their own councils *did not* provide a good cross-section. The employers and managers are over-represented on councils.

TABLE 2.38
'Are members of your council a good cross-section of people in your area?' —
by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more sub- ordinates and professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 sub- ordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agri- cultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Yes, good cross-section	76	70	78	67	86
No, some not represented	23	29	22	32	13
Don't know	—	1	—	—	—
Not answered	1	—	—	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)

(The total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who were retired, had never worked or were in residual categories of employment.)

All councillors were asked in the prompted version of the question, 'Would you say that working class people are not sufficiently represented?' Manual workers were *less* likely (13%) to believe that manual workers were not sufficiently represented than, for example, the employers and managers in smaller businesses (28%). Perhaps the situation is that, since manual workers who became councillors are a very small section of the working class population and have been recruited very largely through organisations which formally claim to represent working class people, they do indeed see themselves as representatives of very broad groups of the population. It is also the case that manual workers were more likely to be members of the majority group on councils on which they actually sat than were others, and this might very well induce them to believe that their councils were 'a good cross-section'. On the other hand one other group which is under-represented numerically, those under 45 years of age, was more likely (33%) than the other councillors (19%) to believe that their own councils were not a good cross-section of the people of their area.

TABLE 2.39
 'Do you think that working class people are not sufficiently represented?' —
 by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more sub- ordinates and professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 sub- ordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agri- cultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Not sufficiently represented	22	20	28	19	13
Sufficiently represented	75	76	71	78	82
Don't know	1	2	—	3	—
Not answered	2	2	1	—	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)

(The total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who were retired, had never worked or were in residual categories of employment.)

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER II

1. Only a minority of councillors have *family* connections with council work. These connections are stronger for rural district councillors. But a majority of councillors had *friends* associated with council work before they became councillors. The attachment index derived from characteristics of councillors (Table 1.31) measures the extent to which councillors had living or working connections with their areas. There does not seem to be any close relationship between the attachment index and whether or not councillors had friends associated with council work.

	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%
Attachment index	340 (2)	343 (1)	191 (5)	278 (4)	300 (3)
Friends associated with council work in area	52 (4)	66 (1)	57 (3)	61 (2)	46 (5)

2. Generally speaking it seems that, whatever effect personal attachments measured by this index may have on the councillor's interests and activities, they do not necessarily bring the councillor closer to council work through friends. However, county borough councillors have both very strong attachments to their areas *and* are more likely to have had friends involved in council activities before they were appointed to the council.

3. Direct measures of some factors more closely associated with entry into council work are shown below and they may be combined to form an index of degree of political involvement.

Index of degree of political involvement — by council type

	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%
Brought into touch with council through political parties ..	38	57	72	42	12
Asked to stand by political parties	40	62	70	47	8
Asked to stand when under 40	35	49	59	39	22
Had thought 'much' about getting on council before asked to stand	29	29	36	25	15
Index of degree of political involvement	142 (4)	197 (2)	237 (1)	153 (3)	57 (5)

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About a third of all councillors were brought into council work by political parties, but their influence was much greater in the metropolitan boroughs and county boroughs, and much less in rural districts. It has also been shown that manual and non-manual workers were brought into council work by political parties.

The following tables show how age and socio-economic status relate to these factors connected with the method of entry into council work. Younger councillors were much more likely to have been politically involved and so were manual and non-manual workers. The latter were also more likely to have given longer thought to possible participation in council work before coming on to the council.

Index of degree of political involvement — by age

	Age		
	Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%
Brought into touch with council through political parties	41 (1)	34 (2)	29 (3)
Asked to stand by political parties	48 (1)	34 (2)	31 (3)
Asked to stand when under 40	80 (1)	37 (2)	17 (3)
Had thought 'much' about getting on council before asked to stand	26 (1)	22 (2=)	22 (2=)
Index of degree of political involvement	195 (1)	127 (2)	99 (3)

Index of degree of political involvement — by socio-economic group

	Employers & managers with 25 or more sub-ordinates and professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 sub-ordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agri-cultural workers
	%	%	%	%
Brought into touch with council through political parties	32 (3)	19 (4)	50 (1)	48 (2)
Asked to stand by political parties	34 (3)	22 (4)	51 (2)	53 (1)
Asked to stand when under 40	38 (3)	30 (4)	40 (1)	39 (2)
Had thought 'much' about getting on council before asked to stand	13 (3=)	13 (3=)	27 (1)	25 (2)
Index of degree of political involvement	117 (3)	84 (4)	168 (1)	165 (2)

4. Just under one-half of all councillors were *brought into touch* with council work in more informal ways, and about one-third were *asked to stand* by private people or councillors on a personal basis rather than by organisations. Another 21% of councillors said that standing for council was their own idea. Recruit-

ment by other councillors acting personally, or by private people or councillors deciding for themselves, accounted for 56% of all councillors standing and 87% of all rural district councillors. It accounted for only 33% in the former metropolitan boroughs and 27% in the county boroughs.

5. Over two-thirds of all councillors said they knew those who invited them to stand very well. 94% of those invited by trade unions said this, 71% of those invited by other councillors on a personal basis and 62% of those invited by political parties.

6. When asked to say what was the main thing which influenced their decision to stand, just over one-half of all councillors expressed in one way or another the idea of public service as their main motive. More than a third had been motivated by a desire to make a personal contribution: 'I felt I could do a useful job' or 'I had the qualifications needed'. But whatever their reasons for standing nearly half of all councillors said that when they first stood they knew 'not much' about the work of a councillor. Fewer than a quarter said they knew 'quite a lot' at that time.

7. For councillors the most important characteristics needed to make a good councillor relate to character rather than training or intellect. 62% chose personality features which could be grouped under the broad headings of Sociability ('broadminded', 'good mixer', 'patient') or Integrity and Leadership ('strong-minded', 'risks being unpopular', 'able to lead'). Only 7% chose Education or Qualifications as the *main* characteristics needed and 19% Intellectual Qualities ('intelligent', 'foresight and vision').

8. A group of questions asked about councillors' views on the recruitment situation:

Negative views on recruitment — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Believe some sections of the people are not rep- resented	23	28 (1)	24 (3)	20 (4)	25 (2)	18 (5)
Believe there is great diffi- culty in getting right kind of candidate to stand	66	62 (3)	71 (2)	44 (5)	77 (1)	57 (4)
Know people who could have made good coun- cillors but would not stand	74	71 (3)	89 (1)	63 (4)	86 (2)	57 (5)
Index	163	161 (3)	184 (2)	127 (5)	188 (1)	132 (4)

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The municipal boroughs and urban districts and the county boroughs were most pessimistic and the former metropolitan boroughs most optimistic. These views do not appear to be directly associated with the factors which are shown above to relate to the recruitment process. Younger councillors and those with some form of further education were somewhat more pessimistic about recruitment prospects than other councillors.

Despite their views on the difficulties of recruitment, over three-quarters of all councillors feel that their present councils are a good cross-section of the people in their area.

CHAPTER III

The Councillor's Working Experience

Once appointed, the councillor ceases to be a private person and becomes part of a continuing process with its own institutions, procedures, and patterns of behaviour. What does this mean for those involved? In this chapter we try to describe some aspects of this process and, particularly, its central feature, namely the committee system in local government. The first part of the chapter presents factual information about the time councillors spend on their public work and their committee activities. In the second part we examine some of the opinions expressed by councillors on these activities.

PART 1: HOW COUNCILLORS SPEND THEIR PUBLIC TIME

In any consideration of the activities of local authority councillors it would be important to pay considerable attention to the time which councillors spend on their public activities. The way this time is distributed reflects the main burdens of public life and must affect the councillor's attitude to his public activities. And since it has frequently been alleged that many will not take up local government work because of the time required, it was thought to be of some importance to get the best measure possible of the time councillors spend on their public duties and the way in which this time was distributed.

The method used

Ideally we should have liked councillors to keep a diary for us over an adequate period of time and to record in detail all the public activities they carried out and how much time they spent on them. It would, however, have been unrealistic to hope that more than a small proportion of councillors would have agreed to do this, and detailed information from an unrepresentative group of councillors might have been more misleading than helpful. It was necessary to ensure that the information obtained about the way councillors spend their time was based on a representative sample of councillors, and this meant that a method had to be devised for collecting this kind of information which most of the councillors we approached could accept. We had already decided, for other reasons, to limit the number of councillors with whom we carried out detailed interviews, and, in any event, it would not have been satisfactory to ask councillors, in the course of an interview, detailed questions about their many council activities going back over a long period of time. It was clear then that some way had to be found for collecting information about the time spent on public activities in the course of the postal enquiry. Pilot studies showed that with the right kind of questions a satisfactory response could be obtained from most of those co-operating in the postal enquiry. The detailed schedules which were used are reproduced in an appendix. The main lines of the method used can be described simply as follows.

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Councillors' public time can be divided into two main parts. The first part is the time spent on committees or in connection with committee work, and the second part is the time spent on other council activities, such as dealing with electors' problems, taking part in the work of other organisations, on some of which they represent the council, and taking part in other public activities. In order to collect reliable information about the time spent on committees or on work directly related to committee activity we could have asked councillors to recollect for us the total time they had spent on these activities over a given period of time. But the time spent in different committees varies and also the number of meetings of committees varies and not all councillors attend all the meetings of all the committees of which they are members. Such recollections would therefore have been somewhat uncertain. We thought it best to ask councillors first of all to tell us of which committees and sub-committees they were members and to say how much time, on average, they spent at the meetings of each of these different committees. We also asked them to say, for each committee, how much time they spent on preparations for an average meeting, such as reading papers, meetings of party groups, the time spent on all travelling and so on. With this information we could, at Social Survey headquarters, estimate how much time on average was spent on all aspects of the work of each committee meeting, for all the individual committees on which councillors sat.

It was then necessary to multiply the time spent on each committee meeting by the number of meetings held over a period of time long enough to represent the varying intensity of committee work. Local government elections had taken place in the spring of 1964. Many councillors would only have begun their public duties after these elections. If material about council work was to be available for the Maud Committee in good time, the postal enquiry had to be carried out not much later than the early part of the winter of 1964. We therefore asked councillors to tell us for each committee how many meetings they had attended 'in the last six months'. The information presented in this chapter thus relates to the last half of 1964. This was the longest run of time we could manage. It included the holiday period when most councils go into recess and it seemed to us that the six months covered would represent, on average, about five months', normal working time. We then multiplied the total time spent on each meeting of each committee by the number of meetings of the committee they had attended in the last six months. This gave the total time spent in connection with each individual committee. Similar totals were obtained for each committee of which the councillor was a member and also for meetings of the whole council. We then added up all these separate totals to produce one grand total of all the time spent on council meetings and committee work. If this total could be agreed to cover about five months', normal working time, then we could calculate simply an average monthly time expenditure.

This procedure gave estimates based on reasonably reliable information about the time spent on meetings. The method used directed councillors' attention both to the different committees and to the main features of committee work, so that the information they have given us about the time spent on the different aspects of each individual committee has involved fairly careful consideration

before councillors completed the forms. The information given may not be perfect, and some councillors may have given more thought to completing the form than others, but since the great majority of councillors gave us most of the detailed information for which we asked, any deficiencies there might be in their recollection of the time spent on the work on individual committees are far outbalanced by the representative nature of the information we have collected.

Overall, 95% of respondents completed the section of the postal survey giving details of their committee work. The proportion varied for the different groups. Ninety per cent of the responding metropolitan borough councillors gave this information but 98% of county borough councillors did. Where some information about committee work was given but other parts were left blank, we have assumed in our tabulations that the blanks indicate no time spent under the particular heading concerned.

For the second main part of the councillors' public activities we invited councillors to generalise, but over a much shorter period of time. They were asked to say how much time they spent in an average month on dealing with electors' problems and their other public activities, apart from time spent on meetings.

The great majority of councillors approached co-operated in the postal survey, as has been shown in the description of the sampling method used and the response (88.4%). Nearly 95% of those responding to the postal enquiry schedule answered questions about their expenditure of time in sufficient detail for us to produce usable estimates. The information presented in this section, therefore, is based on a response from about 84% of a completely representative sample of all local government councillors. Some portions of the questions about time expenditure, however, were less well answered.

An overall summary of Councillors' time expenditure

We can summarise all the information given us by councillors about the time they spend on all their public activities so as to provide conveniently an overall picture of how the councillor spends his public time.

Distribution of councillors' time

	Committees		Other duties			Tota
	Attendance at council and committee meetings	Preparation, party groups, travelling and other time connected with these meetings	Electors and their problems	Other organisations	Other ways	
Hours per month	11.4	17.8	7.5	11.8	3.7	52.2
Proportion of total time spent	22 %	34 %	14 %	23 %	7 %	100 %

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On average the local government councillor during the last half of 1964 spent something like 52 hours per month on public activities. Of this total about 56%, or just over half, was spent on council meetings or committee work and on activities preparing for, or connected with such meetings. The time actually spent *in council or committee* amounts to 22%, or just over one-fifth of all the time councillors spend on their public activities. Much more time is spent in preparing for, travelling to, or on ancillary work connected with council or committees than actually in the meeting. It seems then that councillors spend in connection with committee work between six or seven hours a week, on average. The average time spent on committee work, however, does vary greatly between types of authority and between types of councillor.

Differences in the time spent by Councillors on their public activities

Table 3.1 shows how the public time of different kinds of councillors is distributed. In Table 3.2 we have shown the same information in the form of the proportions of time spent under the same headings.

We may first consider how the total time spent by councillors on public committees varies from one kind of council to another. It will be seen that, whereas there is not very much variation in total time spent by councillors of different ages or between men and women, there is a very big difference between the total time spent by county councillors or county borough councillors and the time spent by councillors in other types of authority.

Councillors in authorities which have the largest range of responsibilities, such as counties and county boroughs, are clearly spending much more time in total on their public activities than other authorities. Metropolitan borough councillors spent less time in total than councillors in any other type of urban area or in the counties and, no doubt, this was because of the distribution of functions between the former LCC and the metropolitan boroughs, which meant that some major responsibilities, for example, in education and the social services, were carried by the LCC. It follows from these differences in the time spent on different kinds of council that, if change in local government organisation were to lead to more 'all purpose' authorities, then *more* time would be needed from councillors on average, other things remaining the same.

Aldermen are spending very much more time on their public work than other kinds of councillor. In considering the relatively low total number of hours spent by councillors who at the last elections were returned unopposed, it is necessary to remember that a very large proportion of these sat on rural district councils where the range of responsibility is much less than it is in other types of authority.

Age does not affect the total time spent on public activities as much as other factors, but the younger members put somewhat less time into their public work than do the older councillors. The differences seem to relate to all the activities which make up the total. Women spend a little more time in total than men. Those with only elementary education are spending considerably more time on their public work than those with higher forms of education.

We have condensed the large number of socio-economic groups under four main headings. In the first group we have put those who might be thought to

The councillor's working experience

TABLE 3.1

**All time spent as a councillor
(per average working month)**

	Council & com- mittee attend- ances	Council & com- mittee other time*	Electors' problems	Organis- ations	Other wayst	Total	Number of respond- ents in sample
	Hrs.	Hrs.	Hrs.	Hrs.	Hrs.	Hrs.	
All councillors ..	11.4	17.8	7.5	11.8	3.7	52.2	3,970
Council type							
Counties ..	11.0	25.8	7.9	16.8	6.4	67.9	470
County boroughs ..	18.2	28.8	11.3	13.2	5.1	76.6	439
Metropolitan boroughs ..	7.2	13.4	7.9	13.0	4.8	46.3	139
Municipal boroughs ..	13.2	19.4	9.3	12.5	3.8	58.2	717
Urban districts ..	12.6	18.2	8.4	12.5	3.4	55.1	843
Rural districts ..	8.2	10.8	4.7	8.4	2.3	34.4	1,362
Status on Council							
Aldermen ..	14.4	24.8	8.6	14.6	5.4	67.8	431
Councillors (unopposed) ..	9.0	13.8	5.7	10.4	2.9	41.8	1,523
Councillors (opposed) ..	11.2	18.6	8.3	12.2	3.9	54.2	1,985
Age							
Under 45 ..	10.4	16.6	7.4	10.3	2.5	47.2	791
45-54 ..	11.0	17.6	8.1	12.4	3.7	52.8	1,028
55-64 ..	11.8	18.4	7.3	12.2	3.9	53.6	1,231
65 or over ..	12.2	19.2	7.3	12.1	4.4	55.2	897
Sex							
Male ..	11.2	17.6	7.6	11.7	3.6	51.7	3,480
Female ..	12.4	19.8	7.1	12.7	4.4	56.4	490
Education							
Elementary ..	12.6	20.4	9.2	12.6	4.3	59.1	1,734
Secondary ..	10.6	15.8	6.6	11.3	3.5	47.8	1,379
Further ..	10.2	15.4	6.0	11.0	3.3	45.9	754
Socio-Economic Group							
Employers and man- agers with 25 or more subordinates, and professionals	10.6	16.4	6.3	11.2	3.6	48.1	697
Employers and man- agers with under 25 subordinates, and farmers ..	9.6	13.8	5.8	10.6	2.8	42.6	1,338
Non-manual and own account non- professionals ..	12.6	19.2	8.4	12.6	4.1	56.9	854
Manual and agricul- tural workers ..	13.8	25.0	11.2	13.3	4.9	68.2	756

* Including preparation for meetings, party groups, personal contacts and travelling time.

† Including school governorships, attending council association conferences, speaking at meetings of local organisations and functions, etc.

TABLE 3.2
Proportions of all time spent as a councillor

	Council & com- mittee attend- ances	Council & com- mittee other time	Electors' problems	Organis- ations	Other ways	Total	Number of inform- ants
	%	%	%	%	%	%	
All Councillors ..	22	34	14	23	7	100	3,970
Council type							
Counties	16	38	12	25	9	100	470
County boroughs ..	24	37	15	17	7	100	439
Metropolitan boroughs	16	29	17	28	10	100	139
Municipal boroughs ..	23	33	16	21	7	100	717
Urban districts ..	23	33	15	23	6	100	843
Rural districts ..	24	31	14	24	7	100	1,362
Status on Council							
Aldermen	21	37	13	21	8	100	431
Councillors (unopposed) ..	22	33	13	25	7	100	1,523
Councillors (opposed) ..	21	34	15	23	7	100	1,985
Age							
Under 45	22	35	16	22	5	100	791
45-54	21	33	15	24	7	100	1,028
55-64	22	34	14	23	7	100	1,231
65 or over ..	22	35	13	22	8	100	897
Sex							
Male	22	34	14	23	7	100	3,480
Female	22	35	13	22	8	100	490
Education							
Elementary ..	21	35	16	21	7	100	1,734
Secondary ..	22	33	14	24	7	100	1,379
Further	22	34	13	24	7	100	754
Socio-Economic Group							
Employers and man- agers with 25 or more subordinates, and professionals	22	34	13	23	8	100	697
Employers and man- agers with under 25 subordinates, and farmers ..	22	32	14	25	7	100	1,338
Non-manual and own account non-pro- fessionals ..	22	34	15	22	7	100	854
Manual and agri- cultural workers	20	37	16	20	7	100	756

have rather more managerial experience or experience relevant to decision-making than others. In the second group we have put employers and managers in the smaller concerns which will include most shopkeepers and small businessmen and farmers. In the third and fourth groups we have distinguished between non-manual and manual workers. Manual workers are spending considerably

more time than those in other groups. It is the employers and managers in the smaller businesses who are spending least time on their council work.

If we consider all these analyses of time spent on committees and time spent with electors, the major differences are between the different types of council and between the socio-economic groups. The county borough and manual worker councillors put in most time, and the employers and managers in the smaller businesses and shops and the metropolitan borough councillors spent least time on these council activities.

Some doubt may be expressed about the information given for metropolitan borough councils. The survey was taken after the elections for the Greater London Council and the new London boroughs had taken place. About half of all the councillors we had chosen in the old metropolitan boroughs were also members of new authorities, and it was thought that the time they were spending on these new responsibilities might have reduced substantially the time they were spending on the work of the metropolitan boroughs which were then in their last year of life. We therefore asked all councillors who had been elected to the Greater London Council or new London boroughs if they had had to reduce the time they spent on committee meetings and other activities in their existing areas in order to make time for their new duties. About half of those who had been elected to the new authorities said that there had been no reduction in the time they spent in their activities on their existing councils, so that together about three-quarters of our metropolitan borough councillors were either not affected by the change or said that they had not reduced the time spent on their existing councils. Twenty-seven per cent said that they had spent less time during the survey period on their council activities than they would otherwise have done. From information which most of them gave us, it appears that the average reduction which this 27% had made was between five and six hours per month. That is to say, if there had been no reorganisation in London they would have spent between five and six hours more per month on their public duties on their existing councils. This time spread over all metropolitan borough councillors would have increased the average number of hours per month by 1.1 thus bringing the average in the metropolitan boroughs to 47.4 hours per month. This would still be much below the average number of hours spent per month in any other urban area.

From Table 3.2 it can be seen that, despite these substantial differences in the average number of hours spent per month between different types of councillors, the broad pattern of distribution remains very much the same in most groups. For example, the four socio-economic groups spend very much the same proportion of their time in council meetings or on work connected with council committee meetings. They all spend very much the same proportion of their time in dealing with electors' problems or in connection with attendance at other organisations. Similarly, those with different levels of education have very much the same pattern. Even in the different types of councils the pattern remains not too dissimilar. County councillors do spend a rather smaller proportion of their time attending meetings but they make up for it by spending a bigger proportion of their time on work connected with meetings including travelling time and less time on electors. County borough councillors spend a somewhat larger proportion of their time on committee work (61%) and the metropolitan borough councillors spent about 45% of their total public time in,

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or in connection with, council and committee meetings. As a consequence the metropolitan borough councillors spent a greater proportion of their total time on other public activities such as taking part in the work of other organisations and the county borough councillors spent a smaller proportion in this way.

There does not seem to be a direct relationship between the time spent in committee and the time spent preparing for or connected with a committee. However, there does seem to be a direct relationship between the total time councillors spend on all their public duties and the total time they spend on committee work. Whilst any change in the committee system as it now works would affect *directly* at the most only just over half (56%) of the time which councillors now spend on public activities and maybe much less than this, it looks as if a reduction in committee obligations might affect *indirectly* the other activities which help to use up councillors' total public time.

The effects of changes in the committee system on the time spent, however, would be difficult to predict, unless it were also known whether they would lead to different types of councillor being drawn into council work and to changes in the kinds of council which predominate in the system of local government. At present there are substantial variations in the burdens of council work on different kinds of councillor.

Committee membership

Because of the method used to collect information about the time spent on committee work, we have, as a useful by-product, fairly detailed information about the number of committees on which councillors sit. Committees and sub-committees are all called committees in this section. A small number of our councillors attend only council meetings, but councillors belong to just under 6 committees on average.

TABLE 3.3
Committee membership

Member of the council only	..	..	..	..	%	%	No.
" " 1 committee	..	..	..	..	2	16	81
" " 2 committees	..	..	..	..	5		183
	..	..	..	..	9		360
" " 3 "	..	..	..	..	13	38	527
" " 4 "	..	..	..	..	13		514
" " 5 "	..	..	..	..	12		463
" " 6 "	..	..	..	..	9	23	346
" " 7 "	..	..	..	..	8		337
" " 8 "	..	..	..	..	6		227
" " 9 "	..	..	..	..	5	21	213
" " 10 "	..	..	..	..	4		151
" " 11 "	..	..	..	..	4		143
" " 12 "	..	..	..	..	2		87
" " 13 "	1		49
" " 14 "	1		55
" " 15-19 "	3		112
" " 20 or more committees	1		39
Not answered	2	2	83
					100	100	3,970

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About 16% of all councillors are members of the council only or of one or two committees. There is a minority of 4% of councillors belonging to 15 or more committees. Thus about 20% of all councillors belong to a very large number of committees or to very few. Sixty-one per cent of all councillors are members of 3 to 8 committees. The tables which follow show how membership of committees varies between different types of councillor.

TABLE 3.4
Number of committee memberships — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Number of committees:							
0 to 2	16	6	2	22	7	8	32
3 to 5	38	25	23	59	41	33	46
6 to 8	23	24	33	13	26	33	13
9 or more ..	21	43	41	2	25	24	6
Not answered ..	2	2	1	4	1	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)
Average ..	5.8	8.5	8.1	3.5	6.2	6.5	3.8

County and county borough councillors have the largest number of committees. In both these types of council more than 40% are members of nine or more committees. Very few metropolitan borough and rural district councillors were members of nine or more committees.

Table 3.5 shows the difference between aldermen and councillors and also between councillors who have lived for varying periods of time in their present area.

TABLE 3.5
Number of committee memberships —
by status on council and length of residence in council area

	Status on council		Length of residence in area				
	Alder- man	Coun- cillor	Non- resident	5 years or less	6-15 years	16-25 years	25 and over
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Number of committees:							
0 to 2	6	17	27	20	17	15	15
3 to 5	22	39	42	52	48	41	33
6 to 8	24	23	12	17	23	24	24
9 or more ..	44	19	11	10	12	18	26
Not answered ..	4	2	8	1	—	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(427)	(3,543)	(106)	(156)	(606)	(583)	(2,393)
Average ..	7.8	5.6	4.5	4.7	5.1	5.6	6.2

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Aldermen are members of substantially more committees than councillors. Forty-four per cent are members of nine or more committees.

Table 3.5 also shows that the longer councillors have lived in their present area the more committees they sit on. Twenty-seven per cent of those who have lived in the area for five years or less are members of six or more committees, whereas 50% of those who have lived in their area for over 25 years are on six or more committees.

Table 3.6 gives a detailed analysis by socio-economic group. It is the manual and agricultural workers who are members of most committees, on average. It will be remembered that it was this group who spent the largest number of hours on public work. The group with the smallest number of committees was the employers and managers in small businesses and farmers and it was this group which put in the smallest number of hours of public service.

TABLE 3.6
Number of committee memberships — by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with more than 25 subordinates and professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 subordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Number of committees:					
0 to 2	16	14	22	12	9
3 to 5	38	38	44	37	32
6 to 8	23	26	17	26	26
9 or more	21	21	14	24	32
Not answered ..	2	1	3	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)
Average ..	5.8	5.9	4.9	6.2	6.8

(The total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who were retired, had never worked, or were in residual categories of employment.)

There were small differences in the number of committee memberships of people with different levels of education. Retired councillors had rather more committees than those who were in full-time employment, but such differences were much smaller than those in the tables which have just been given. There appeared to be no difference between the committee memberships of those working in their area or at some distance from it, or between men and women councillors.

Amongst these analyses of the number of committee memberships we find the biggest difference between the various types of council.

Committee meetings

We also asked councillors how many meetings of each committee they had attended over the previous six months. It must be emphasised that this period included August, which is usually a recess period, and for many councillors,

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too, it covered their first period of public office, since the survey took place in the same year as widespread council elections. If we assume that this six-month period, because of the recess, is the equivalent of five normal working months we can calculate the average number of committee meetings attended. If the recess, on average, accounts for something less than a whole month, then the calculated monthly averages will be slightly overstated. On the other hand, we must bear in mind that the six-month period covered by the survey did not include the main winter months which may be the busiest months of the year for many councillors. In the circumstances in which the survey was carried out, however, it was not possible to make any allowance for this.

TABLE 3.7
Number of council and committee meetings attended —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Number of meetings in last 6 months:							
0-9	6	8	2	18	1	1	12
10-19	23	25	5	38	16	11	37
20-29	28	24	17	24	31	28	31
30-39	17	15	19	10	22	25	11
40-49	10	7	23	2	13	16	2
50 or more ..	11	15	32	0	11	15	2
Not answered ..	5	6	2	8	6	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)
Average No. of meet- ings:							
6 month period ..	30.5	31.9	46.9	18.5	33.4	36.2	21.1
Working month ..	6.1	6.4	9.4	3.7	6.7	7.2	4.2

On average, councillors attended about six committee meetings in a working month. Committee attendance is highest in the county boroughs and lowest in the metropolitan boroughs. Attendance at committee meetings relates closely to the number of committees of which councillors are members but county borough councillors seem to have rather more meetings per committee than is the case elsewhere. There is a sharp difference between the number of meetings attended by aldermen and other councillors. Over a quarter of all aldermen had attended 50 or more meetings in the six months' survey period whereas only 6% of councillors who had been unopposed at the last election attended this many.

Most of the groups by which we have analysed our information on committee meetings show much the same differences as those displayed in the preceding tables on committee *membership*. In terms of either committee memberships or committee meetings attended the largest differences are between the different types of council and between the socio-economic groups.

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Time spent on Council and committee meetings

On average councillors spend about 56% of all their public time either sitting in council or committee or on preparatory work for such meetings such as reading papers, attending party groups, personal contacts, travelling time and other activities connected with committees between one meeting and another. It will be clear from the tables which have just been presented that the average time conceals substantial differences between different types of councillors. It seemed necessary, therefore, to show how the average time was made up, and in the rest of this section distributions of time spent are given for many of the groups with which we have been concerned.

As a preliminary to these analyses, Table 3.8 shows how the time that is spent on council and committee meetings varies, on average, directly with the number of committees of which councillors are members.

TABLE 3.8
Time spent in connection with council and committee meetings —
by number of committee memberships

	Number of committee memberships			
	0-2	3-5	6-8	9 or more
Total hours per working month ..	14.0	23.4	33.8	46.4
Attending meetings	6.0	9.2	13.6	17.2
Other time	8.0	14.2	20.2	29.2

Whereas on average 29.2 hours are spent in a working month on these council and committee meeting activities, nearly a third of our sample (32%) are spending more time than this and 19% of all councillors are spending 40 or more hours a month (Table 3.9). On the other hand, over 40% are spending 25 hours

TABLE 3.9
Time spent in connection with council and committee meetings —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total hours per 6 months:							
Up to 50 ..	14	10	2	26	5	6	27
51 to 100 ..	27	20	8	30	24	28	36
101 to 150 ..	22	19	17	16	29	28	18
151 to 200 ..	13	14	23	11	14	15	8
201 or more ..	19	31	48	7	22	19	5
Not answered ..	5	6	2	10	6	4	6
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)
Average hours spent:							
6-month period ..	146	184	235	103	163	154	95
Working month ..	29.2	36.8	47.0	20.6	32.6	30.8	19.0
Attending Meetings	11.4	11.0	18.2	7.2	13.2	12.6	8.2
Other time* ..	17.8	25.8	28.8	13.4	19.4	18.2	10.8

* Including preparations for meetings, party groups, personal contacts, travelling time, and all activities of committees between meetings.

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or less per month on these activities which is nearly a third less time than the average councillor. Nearly half of all county borough councillors are spending more than 40 hours per working month on attendance at council or committee meetings, or in the necessary preparation and other work connected with these meetings. Only 7% of metropolitan borough councillors spent this much time.

It will be seen that the distributions of time for municipal borough and urban district councillors are very similar. Rural district councillors, as is to be expected, spend very much less time on these activities than other councillors but only a little less time than metropolitan borough councillors. At the bottom of the table we show how this portion of public work divides up between time spent actually sitting in meetings of council and committee and the other time spent in connection with such meetings. For all kinds of councillors much more time is spent preparing for meetings than actually attending them.

Table 3.10 shows how the total time and distribution varies between aldermen and other types of councillor.

TABLE 3.10
Time spent in connection with council and committee meetings —
by status on council

	All councillors	Aldermen	Unopposed councillors	Opposed councillors
	%	%	%	%
Total hours per 6 months:				
Up to 50	14	5	24	9
51-100	27	14	34	25
101-150	22	20	18	25
151-200	13	17	8	16
201 or more	19	36	11	21
Not answered	5	8	5	4
Total (Numbers)	100 (3,970)	100 (431)	100 (1,523)	100 (1,985)
Average hours spent in working month	29.2	39.2	22.8	31.8
Attending meetings	11.4	14.4	9.0	13.2
Other time	17.8	24.8	13.8	18.6

Table 3.11 shows the time distribution over the broad occupation groupings which we have used. Nearly a third of manual worker councillors are spending 40 hours or more per working month. Only 11% of the small employers and farmers are spending this much time. Twenty-two per cent of the smaller employers and managers are spending less than 10 hours per working month on these duties.

It has been shown previously that manual workers, who are putting in more time on work connected with council and committee meetings than any other group, are more heavily *under-represented* than any other occupational group in the population. On the other hand, the small employers and managers and farmers, who are spending less time on average in these public activities, are more heavily *over-represented* than any other occupational group. The occupational group which it is frequently asserted has very much to contribute to the managerial efficiency of council activities, namely, employers and managers in

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the larger establishments (more than 25 employees) and professional workers are contributing very near the average time given by all councillors to these council and committee meetings.

TABLE 3.11
Time spent in connection with council and committee meetings —
by socio-economic group

	Employers and managers with more than 25 subordinates and professionals	Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%
Total hours per 6 months:				
Up to 50	14	22	9	5
51-100	29	33	27	16
101-150	27	19	23	23
151-200	12	10	15	19
201 or more	15	11	22	32
Not answered	3	5	4	5
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(697)	(1,338)	(854)	(756)
Average hours spent in working month	27.0	23.4	31.8	38.8
Attending meetings	10.6	9.6	12.6	13.8
Other time	16.4	13.8	19.2	25.0

Table 3.12 compares the committee time distributions of councillors with different levels of education. Fifty per cent of those with further education are putting in up to 20 hours per working month compared with 33% of those with only elementary education. On the other hand, nearly a quarter of those with only elementary education are putting in over 40 hours per working month compared with 14% of those with further education.

TABLE 3.12
Time spent in connection with council and committee meetings —
by education

	Elementary	Secondary	Further
	%	%	%
Total hours per 6 months:			
Up to 50	12	15	19
51-100	21	33	31
101-150	23	22	21
151-200	15	11	11
201 or more	24	15	14
Not answered	5	4	4
Total	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,734)	(1,379)	(754)
Average hours spent in working month	33.0	26.4	25.6
Attending meetings	12.6	10.6	10.2
Other time	20.4	15.8	15.4

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A similar situation is found when we compare the time put in by councillors at different income levels. The proportion of councillors spending more than 40 hours per working month steadily increases as the income level *goes down*. While 12% of those with incomes over £2,080 per annum are spending 40 hours or more per month, 27% of those in the lowest income group are spending this much time. Part only of this income difference is explained by the greater activity of retired councillors with low incomes. Neither is the difference explained by the fact that a higher proportion of county councillors than others fall into the highest income group, because it has already been shown that county councillors also included a larger proportion of those in the lowest income group. There seems to remain a major difference associated with income level.

TABLE 3.13
Time spent in connection with council and committee meetings —
by income per year

	Up to £520	Over £520-£1,040	Over £1,040-£2,080	Over £2,080
	%	%	%	%
Total hours per 6 months:				
Up to 50	9	10	15	22
51-100	24	25	31	31
101-150	19	24	23	21
151-200	13	14	14	10
201 or more	27	23	14	12
Not answered ..	8	4	3	4
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(391)	(1,559)	(1,163)	(496)
Average hours spent in working month ..	35.0	32.2	26.8	23.8
Attending meetings ..	13.0	12.0	10.6	9.5
Other time	22.0	20.2	16.2	14.3

The largest difference shown among all the distributions of time spent on meetings is between the different types of council, where the figures range from 20.6 hours per working month spent on average on council and committee meetings by metropolitan borough councillors to 47 hours spent on these activities by the county borough councillors. Apart from this, the next largest difference is to be found in the comparison between aldermen and councillors who were returned unopposed at the last election and between the socio-economic groups.

What might be the implication of those figures for the recruitment of people to council work? Since there are such large variations in the time spent on council and committee meetings, any general reorganisation would affect the different types of council and councillor to a different extent. If a reduction in council and committee meeting time was expected to make a major contribution

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to recruitment, then it would help most the county borough and the county councils, and would be expected to help least the rural district councils because the latter already involve much less time spent by their members than other kinds of authority.

It is very difficult to guess at the possible effect of reorganising committee work on the different socio-economic groups. While manual workers and those in the lowest income groups, or whose education finished earliest, are now spending the most time on these activities it does not necessarily follow that a reduction in the time spent on council and committee meeting work would bring in more of other groups, such as those with professional and managerial experience or with higher levels of education. It is obvious that, since manual workers are so under-represented numerically, only a particular section, those with the most interest in public activities, have so far considered council work as a possible form of activity. If time really affects willingness to serve, a reduction in the time spent on council committee work might make it possible for larger numbers of these groups who are at present under-represented to serve. Those with managerial and professional experience are at present serving near the average amount of time, and fewer of them than manual worker councillors are serving the longer periods of time per working month. They are at present already represented rather more heavily (19.3% of all councillors) than they are to be found in the general population (7.6%). If one looks to a reduction of time in council and committee work alone to draw in even higher proportions of such people then it would have to be shown that time necessarily spent on council and committee meetings was a major obstacle to those who are at present not involved in council work. Table 3.11 showed that amongst those people who are councillors there is already very great variation in the time they are prepared to spend and do spend on council and committee work. While 15% of the employers and managers in large firms and professionals spent over 40 hours a month, an equal proportion (14%) spent under 10 hours a month, or less than a quarter of the time spent by the most energetic section of this socio-economic group. *Some of those who want to enter public life but do not want to spend very long hours on it seem to have found their own way of adapting the situation to their personal needs.*

Committee starting times

It was shown in Chapter I that there are variations in the extent to which different social and economic groups form the membership of different types of council. In this chapter we have shown how the time spent by councillors and the number of committees of which they are members varies. Clearly these differences come from the combined effect of the kinds of people who enter different types of council and the decisions they personally make about the amount of time they will put into the work. One of the ways in which councillors can affect the work they do is by determining the times at which meetings are held. We asked for the starting time of each committee on which our councillors sat, and of the meeting of the whole council. Table 3.14 shows the situation in different types of council.

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TABLE 3.14
Starting times of council and committee meetings —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Starting times:							
Before 2 p.m. ..	23	66	18	*	3	2	34
2-5 p.m. ..	21	23	46	2	6	7	33
5-6.30 p.m. ..	17	*	15	37	30	21	13
After 6.30 p.m. ..	31	1	13	55	53	65	10
Not answered ..	8	10	8	6	8	5	10
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(27,019)	(4,466)	(4,003)	(623)	(5,124)	(6,294)	(6,509)

*Less than 0.5%.

Our councillors were members altogether of over 27,000 committees (including, for this purpose, the whole council as one committee). It will be seen that morning meetings are very much more frequent in the county councils than they are anywhere else but one-third of all rural district council committees met in the mornings too. It will be remembered that county councillors included a higher proportion of retired people than did other groups and fewer county councillors were employed full-time than was the case elsewhere.

In contrast, late evening meetings are much more frequent in the urban districts and in the metropolitan and municipal boroughs than elsewhere. County boroughs have a larger proportion of afternoon meetings than any other type of authority, and it will be remembered that 68% of county borough councillors are working full-time. These figures must have implications for the kind of person who can become a councillor. *To the extent that councillors themselves determine their meeting times they must also be determining, partially at least, the kind of person who is able to become a councillor.*

There are very marked differences between the times of meetings attended by councillors in the different age groups (Table 3.15). Meetings which take place in the morning are more likely to be attended by older councillors. The proportion of morning meetings steadily increases with age. In contrast, the later in the day meetings begin, the more likely it is that those attending them will be younger. Thirty-one per cent of meetings attended by those 65 years of age and over were held sometime after five o'clock. This compares with 45% of those between 55-65, 53% between 45-54, 65% between 35-44 and 68% for councillors under 35 years of age. It will be remembered that there are some differences in the age composition of different authorities. County councils have the largest proportion of older members, and the metropolitan boroughs have the largest proportion of younger members.

If it is argued that too few younger people become councillors these figures seem to be revealing. They indicate that the younger councillors select the meetings which take place later in the day. The reason is, no doubt, associated with the employment situation in the different age groups.

TABLE 3.15
Starting times of council and committee meetings — by age

	Total	Age				
		Under 35	35-44	45-54	55-64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Starting times:						
Before 2 p.m. ..	23	10	14	19	25	33
2-5 p.m. ..	21	20	17	21	21	25
5-6.30 p.m. ..	17	19	23	18	16	13
After 6.30 p.m. ..	31	49	42	35	29	18
Not answered ..	8	2	4	7	9	11
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(27,019)	(1,199)	(3,832)	(6,911)	(8,329)	(6,601)

TABLE 3.16
Starting times of council and committee meetings — by employment situation

	Usually work		Housewives	Retired
	Over 30 hours per week	30 hours per week or less		
	%	%	%	%
Starting times:				
Before 2 p.m. ..	18	34	28	32
2-5 p.m. ..	20	23	25	25
5-6.30 p.m. ..	19	10	12	14
After 6.30 p.m. ..	37	22	26	19
Not answered ..	6	11	9	10
Total ..	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(16,843)	(1,546)	(2,026)	(6,252)

Table 3.16 shows that more than half of those working full-time are attending meetings which begin after five o'clock. This compares with a third of those who have retired or work less than 30 hours. It will be remembered once again that the counties have the largest proportion of retired councillors and the lowest proportion of councillors who are employed full-time. The connection between the time of meetings which councillors choose to attend and their private employment responsibilities is shown clearly in Table 3.17.

TABLE 3.17
Starting times of council and committee meetings — by distance from work

	Normal place of work			
	In council area	Less than 5 miles outside boundary	5 or more miles outside boundary	Varies
	%	%	%	%
Starting times:				
Before 2 p.m. ..	24	10	8	16
2-5 p.m. ..	23	15	11	19
5-6.30 p.m. ..	17	22	21	13
After 6.30 p.m. ..	29	49	55	41
Not answered ..	7	4	5	11
Total ..	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(11,540)	(2,383)	(3,207)	(1,277)

Morning meetings are much more likely to be attended by those working in the area of the council on which they sit. Evening meetings, on the contrary, are attended by a much higher proportion of those whose work takes them more than five miles outside the boundary of their area. These tables make it quite clear that there is a close association between membership of committees whose meetings start at different times of the day and the councillors' working arrangements.

The differences just discussed are greater than those between the different socio-economic groups, but it should be noted that employers and managers in the smaller firms, and farmers, are more likely to attend meetings of committees which take place in the morning and afternoon and less likely than the other groups to attend meetings which take place after six-thirty.

Councillors' time spent on activities other than Council and Committees

It has been shown that 56% of the public time of the local government councillor is spent on council meetings or committee work or preparing for such meetings. How is the other 44% spent? The time spent on other public duties amounts to 23 hours per month, on average. The largest single element in this time is devoted to dealing with electors and their problems ($7\frac{1}{2}$ hours a month). The councillor spends something over five hours a month on non-council organisations on which he represents the council, and even more time than this (6.4 hours a month) on other public bodies in which he participates as an individual and not on behalf of the council. Taken together, work in other organisations on behalf of the council or as an individual takes up to 11.8 hours a month on average; that is, over a half of all the time which the councillor spends outside meetings of the council, its committees or in connection with them.

These figures are derived from rather limited questions in which we asked councillors: 'apart from work on council committees and the council would you say how much time you spent in the average month on (a) dealing with electors' problems (b) taking part in organisations on which you represent the council (c) taking part in the work of any other public body on which you do not represent the council (d) any other ways in which you spend time as part of the work of being a councillor.' If councillors found it difficult to give an estimate on a monthly basis we asked them to describe their activities and say how much time they spent on them over a longer period of time and the monthly average was then calculated subsequently.

The answers to these questions were carefully scrutinised so as to exclude information not directly connected with work as a councillor for a particular council. Some of our councillors who were also members of second or third councils erroneously included some of their activities under these headings. This information was deleted. We excluded such posts as that of J.P. or magistrate or party political activities, other than those connected with the party groups on the council. All this was done in order, so far as possible, to confine the data collected under this heading to activities related to membership of the councils selected for the sample used on this survey.

Some councillors did not answer any part of the question. Thus about 7% of all county councillors gave no information for this part of the enquiry but only

TABLE 3.18
Average time spent per month on public activities
apart from council committee work

	Electors' problems	Organisations (representing council)	Public bodies (not representing council)	Other ways	Total	Number of informants in sample
	Hrs.	Hrs.	Hrs.	Hrs.	Hrs.	
All councillors	7.5	5.4	6.4	3.7	23.0	(3,970)*
Council type						
Counties	7.9	8.1	8.7	6.4	31.1	(470)
County boroughs	11.3	7.0	6.2	5.1	29.6	(439)
Metropolitan boroughs	7.9	6.8	6.2	4.8	25.7	(139)
Municipal boroughs	9.3	5.5	7.0	3.8	25.6	(717)
Urban districts	8.4	5.9	6.6	3.4	24.3	(843)
Rural districts	4.7	3.2	5.2	2.3	15.4	(1,362)
Status on council						
Aldermen	8.6	7.6	7.0	5.4	28.6	(431)
Councillors (unopposed)	5.7	4.5	5.9	2.9	19.0	(1,523)
Councillors (opposed)	8.3	5.6	6.6	3.9	24.4	(1,785)
Age						
Under 45	7.4	4.2	6.1	2.5	20.2	(791)
45-54	8.1	5.5	6.9	3.7	24.2	(1,028)
55-64	7.3	5.6	6.6	3.9	23.4	(1,231)
65 or over	7.3	6.4	5.7	4.4	23.8	(897)
Sex						
Male	7.6	5.4	6.3	3.6	22.9	(3,480)
Female	7.1	5.6	7.1	4.4	24.2	(490)
Education						
Elementary	9.2	6.1	6.5	4.3	26.1	(1,734)
Secondary	6.6	5.0	6.3	3.5	21.4	(1,379)
Further	6.0	4.8	6.2	3.3	20.3	(754)
Socio-economic group						
Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates, and professionals	6.3	5.1	6.1	3.6	21.1	(697)
Employers and managers with less than 25 subordinates, and farmers	5.8	4.5	6.1	2.8	19.2	(1,338)
Non-manual and own account non-professionals	8.4	5.9	6.7	4.1	25.1	(854)
Manual and agricultural workers	11.2	6.6	6.7	4.9	29.4	(756)

* The weighted sample total is 3,970 but 186 did not give usable information on this point, and have therefore been excluded from the calculations.

3% of municipal borough councillors gave no information. Overall about 5% of councillors gave no information for this section. Some councillors left part of the question unanswered. For example, they may have given no information about the time they spend in work on other public bodies on which they do not represent the council whilst answering other parts of the question. We

have assumed that where this happened no time was spent on the item for which no time was given. It may be that in some cases failure to give information was an omission, or that the councillor was unable to make a reliable calculation and the averages given may to this extent be under-estimates. The figures which are most likely to be underestimates for this reason are those given under the heading 'Public bodies (not representing the council)'.

As with the time spent on council and committee activities there are many differences between different kinds of councillor in the average time spent. The main differences are summarised in Table 3.18.

The largest group differences are to be found between the socio-economic groups. It will be seen that as with committee time manual workers spend more time on these other public activities than other groups. Once again it is the employers and managers of small businesses and farmers who spend least time on all aspects of these other public activities. Whereas manual workers spend over 11 hours a month in dealing with electors' problems the employers and managers in small businesses spend under six hours a month. Councillors in the counties and county boroughs spend most time on these activities and least time is spent on them by rural district councillors. There is little difference in the time spent by men or women or the different age groups except that the youngest councillors tend to spend somewhat less time than others. Councillors with only elementary education spend more time on all aspects than other councillors.

The average time spent on these activities for all councillors thus conceals differences between different types of councillors. The overall average also conceals differences between minorities who spend considerable time on these activities and those who spend much less time.

TABLE 3.19
Time spent on public activities apart from committee work

	Electors' problems	Organisations (representing council)	Public bodies (not represent- ing council)	Other ways
	%	%	%	%
Number of hours per month:				
0 to 4	48	62	58	73
5 to 9	21	16	14	10
10 to 14	13	9	12	6
15 to 19	4	3	3	2
20 or more	9	5	8	4
Not answered	5	5	5	5
Total	100	100	100	100
Average No. of hours per month	7.5	5.4	6.4	3.7

Table 3.19 shows that nearly two-thirds of all councillors spend under four hours a month on the work of other organisations where they represent the council and nearly 60% spend under four hours a month on the work of other public bodies where they do not represent the council. Nearly half of all

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councillors spend less than *five hours a month* dealing with electors and their problems. There is a minority of 9% of councillors, however, who spend 20 hours or more per month dealing with electors' problems and an even smaller proportion spends 20 hours or more per month in each of the other ways.

Time spent on electors and their problems

Table 3.20 shows how distribution of time on electors' problems varies between the different types of council.

TABLE 3.20
Time spent on electors' problems —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Number of hours per month:							
0-4	48	47	28	48	40	43	67
5-9	21	22	23	23	23	24	16
10 or more	26	24	45	23	34	29	11
Not answered	5	7	4	6	3	4	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)
Average No. of hours per month	7.5	7.9	11.3	7.9	9.3	8.4	4.7

County borough councillors spend more time than others on electors' problems and 45% of county borough councillors are spending ten hours or more in every month on this work. Municipal borough councillors spend the next highest number of hours per month and a third of them spend 10 hours or more per month on dealing with electors' problems. There are few differences between the other types of councillor except that in rural districts over two-thirds of all councillors are spending under four hours a month dealing with electors' problems.

It has already been noted that manual worker councillors spend more time on almost all aspects of council work than other groups, and it will be seen from Table 3.21 that over 40% of manual workers are putting in 10 or more hours a month on electors' problems. Non-manual workers and unqualified own account workers put in the next highest number of hours. The two other groups spend much less time. About 60% of all kinds of employers and managers in both large and small businesses and farmers spend *under five hours a month* dealing with electors.

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TABLE 3.21
Time spent on electors' problems — by socio-economic group

	Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates & professionals	Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%
Number of hours per month:				
0-4	59	60	45	28
5-9	18	17	23	28
10 or more	19	18	29	41
Not answered	4	5	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(697)	(1,338)	(854)	(756)
Average No. of hours per month	6.3	5.8	8.4	11.2

As with previous analyses by income it appears that time spent with electors declines as income increases. Two-thirds of councillors with incomes over £2,080 a year spend 5 hours a month or less on electors while nearly a third of those with incomes below £1,040 a year spend 10 hours or more.

Of all councillors it is those with public school or private school as their last full-time education who devote least time to dealing with electors' problems (4.7 hours). But those with more advanced further education do not spend much more time on average in these activities. It is those whose education finished at the elementary level who devote most time to dealing with electors (8.9 hours).

Little or no difference was found between the time spent in dealing with electors' problems in other groupings such as age, sex, length of council service, employment situation and so on.

Time spent on other organisations

Table 3.22 shows the variations in time spent on organisations where councillors officially represent the council. County councillors seem to spend most time on these activities and rural district councillors least.

Over three-quarters of rural district councillors spend under five hours a month and, apart from county councillors, over half of other councillors are spending less than five hours a month on this kind of work. A minority of between 20-30% of all councillors in most types of area, apart from the rural districts, are spending ten hours or more per month representing their councils on other organisations.

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TABLE 3.22
Time spent on organisations (representing council) — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Number of hours per month:							
0-4	62	47	55	57	59	55	77
5-9	16	17	18	15	20	21	10
10 or more ..	17	29	23	22	18	20	7
Not answered ..	5	7	4	6	3	4	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(3,970)	(470)	(439)	(139)	(717)	(843)	(1,362)
Average No. of hours per month ..	5.4	8.1	7.0	6.8	5.5	5.9	3.2

Younger councillors spend less time on this kind of activity but there is not much variation between the time spent by older age groups and, as is to be expected, councillors who have served for short periods of time are likely to spend less time than others in this way.

The employment situation of councillors seems to make very little difference to the time spent on organisations representing council. Those working full-time are devoting very much the same number of hours to it as other councillors.

Aldermen spend more time representing council organisations than other councillors, and more than a quarter of all aldermen are spending ten hours or more per month.

PART 2: THE OPINIONS OF COUNCILLORS ON THEIR COUNCIL EXPERIENCE

How Committee time is distributed

The data given in the first part of this chapter describe the basic structure of council work. They summarise the total weight of many different council interests and activities. What part in the total is played by the different council interests? On any council, under our present system of local government, it is committees which supervise and embody a defined part of the council's responsibilities. We have already shown that the total time spent on all public activities is related to the time spent on committee work. We can then consider the contribution made by the various councillors and their attitudes towards work on committees as central to any account of how councillors feel about public activities.

From the information about committee work collected in the postal enquiry we can show how all committee time is distributed among the main committees. The three tables which follow give these distributions for the different types of council, the main socio-economic groups and according to councillors' length of service. The activities grouped under committee titles are given in detail at the end of this chapter. In some councils particular committees have responsibility for several of these committee titles but a very large part of all committee time could be grouped in the way used for all three tables.

Fifty-five per cent of all the committee time of all councils goes on four main committees: Housing, Town and Country Planning, Finance, and Health and Welfare. In rural district councils, which form numerically a large part of all councils, over half of all committee time goes on Housing and Town and Country Planning work. In county councils over half of all committee time goes on the Health and Welfare and the Education Committees and about one third of committee time in the county boroughs goes on these two committees (Table 3.23).

The proportion of committee time spent on General Administration and Finance Committees varies according to the size and scope of the council. Twelve or 13% of all committee time is spent on the work of these two committees in the county and county borough councils but the proportion increases to 23% and 25% in the rural and urban district councils.

TABLE 3.23
Proportion of all committee time spent on various types of committee —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Committee:							
Housing	18	1	12	28	21	19	30
Town and country planning	16	11	14	6	13	18	22
Finance	11	7	5	7	10	16	15
Health and welfare	10	28	17	5	5	6	1
Amenities	9	5	10	17	19	8	1
General administra- tion	8	6	7	12	11	9	8
Education	7	26	15	—	3	1	*
Highways and roads	7	7	4	10	8	10	4
Public health ..	6	2	2	13	3	6	13
Trading and public utilities	3	2	9	—	2	2	1
Protective	2	5	5	2	2	1	1
Others	3	*	*	—	3	4	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(216)	(267)	(420)

* Less than 0.5%.

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TABLE 3.24
Proportion of all committee time spent on various types of committee —
by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more subordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 subordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Committee:					
Housing	18	17	19	15	18
Town and country planning	16	19	17	16	13
Finance	11	14	11	9	9
Health and welfare	10	4	5	14	13
Amenities	9	8	10	9	9
General administration	8	12	7	9	9
Education	7	7	6	10	6
Highways and roads	7	9	7	6	9
Public health	6	4	8	6	4
Trading and public utilities	3	4	2	2	5
Protective	2	1	3	2	3
Others	3	1	5	2	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)

(The total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who were retired, had never worked or were in residual categories of employment.)

TABLE 3.25
Proportion of all committee time spent on various types of committee —
by length of service

	Total	Length of service			
		Up to 3 years	4-9 years	10-20 years	21 years or more
	%	%	%	%	%
Committee:					
Housing	18	18	19	18	17
Town and country planning	16	18	15	13	18
Finance	11	11	11	12	11
Health and welfare	10	7	11	11	12
Amenities	9	12	8	7	8
General administration	8	7	8	8	9
Education	7	7	6	8	9
Highways and roads	7	6	8	8	5
Public health	6	7	6	5	3
Trading and public utilities	3	3	3	4	3
Protective	2	2	2	3	2
Others	3	2	3	3	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(355)	(374)	(359)	(103)

(The total of 1,235 includes 44 informants who did not give length of service.)

The differences between council types in the distribution of committee time are much greater than the differences found among socio-economic and length of service groups.

The following table gives an extract of the committee time distribution of councillors in the different socio-economic groups. It shows the largest differences between the groups to be in the Finance, Town and Country Planning, Health and Welfare and Education Committees.

Proportion of all committee time spent on some types of committee —
by socio-economic group

	Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates & professionals	Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
Finance and town and country planning ..	33 %	28 %	25 %	22 %
Health, welfare and education ..	11 %	11 %	24 %	19 %
Finance and general administration ..	26 %	18 %	18 %	18 %

These differences cannot be explained by the differences in the proportions of councillors in different socio-economic groups in the various types of council. In addition to the effect of council type and the associated public responsibilities on the committee work of councillors, there also seems to be some selectivity of certain types of committee by the two employer/manager and the two worker groups of councillors. Perhaps the special interest of the employers and managers of larger businesses in Finance and General Administration might be expected but it is not easy without more detailed examination than our sample would permit to explain the different proportions of time spent by different socio-economic groups on the Health and Welfare Committees.

It is sometimes suggested that new councillors are made to 'work their passage' by serving on the less interesting committees. We therefore analysed our committee time data by length of service to see whether, in fact, there was any such relationship. Some differences do emerge from Table 3.25 but, overall, the variations between the groups with different periods of service are smaller than those noted between the socio-economic groups and much smaller than those between different types of council. The main differences may be summarised as follows:

Proportion of committee time — by length of service

	Length of service			
	Up to 3 years	4-9 years	10-20 years	21 years or more
Health, welfare and education ..	14 %	17 %	19 %	21 %
Public health and amenities ..	19 %	14 %	12 %	11 %

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Those with less service are somewhat more likely to spend more time on the Public Health and the Amenities Committees and somewhat less likely to do so on the Health and Welfare and Education Committees. There is very little difference between the proportions of committee time spent on Finance or General Administration Committees by the more or the less experienced councillors.

Councillors' attitudes towards Committee work: The contribution to the Public Good

Since committee work takes up more than half of all the time councillors spend on their public duties the facts presented above might be expected to influence councillors' attitudes to council work, and, in the course of the interview stage of the enquiry, councillors were asked a series of questions designed to elicit their opinions on their most recent experience of council work. Table 3.26 shows the answers given by councillors to the question 'Which of all the activities or decisions of the council during 1964 has done most to help people or improve things?' In other words, which council activities in 1964 seemed most rewarding to councillors.

The dominating position of housing in the affairs of most councils is very obvious. For metropolitan borough councillors, housing clearly overrode almost all other activities. For the counties, of course, education is a much greater responsibility and this is reflected in the results. For the rural districts the provision of public utilities such as lighting was seen as the most important council effort of 1964.

TABLE 3.26
'Which one of all the activities or decisions of the council during 1964 has done most to help people or improve things?' — by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Housing	28	4	24	59	32	30
Utility services	17	1	5	2	9	37
Town planning	11	5	25	4	19	—
Old people's welfare	7	18	5	9	3	8
Roads/traffic	6	9	9	2	9	2
Education	5	24	13	—	1	—
Recreational and social facilities	4	1	2	4	8	2
Other welfare services	2	13	1	—	1	1
Other answers	7	10	5	2	7	7
Don't know	7	10	7	9	6	6
None	4	3	4	9	4	3
Not answered	2	2	—	—	1	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

The councillor's working experience

The importance attributed to different committees is not the same in the different socio-economic groups. The main distinction between the views of the employers and managers in small businesses, and farmers and other councillors may be summarised as follows:

	Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates & professionals	Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
Activities thought to have done most for people:				
Utility Services, Old People's Welfare, Recreation and Social	25%	40%	18%	16%
Roads/Traffic, Town Planning, Housing	49%	35%	52%	57%

We have already shown in Chapter I that the various socio-economic groups are unevenly represented on different types of authority. This partly explains the different weight given to the various committee interests in each type of council. However, as is shown below the extent of the difference between, say, rural district councils and county boroughs is larger than that between any of the socio-economic groups. It seems that the interests of councillors are influenced more by the type of council they belong to than by their socio-economic group.

	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
Activities thought to have done most for people:					
Utility Services, Old People's Welfare, Recreation and Social	20%	12%	15%	20%	47%
Roads/Traffic, Town Planning, Housing	18%	58%	65%	60%	32%

Clearly the urban authority councillors feel that the contribution made by action on traffic and town planning activities seems more urgent than other work, whereas for rural district councillors the importance of public utility activities such as street lighting meets a greater need.

To some extent, then, we may say that the special responsibilities of particular types of area also over-ride other interests. But the characteristics of councillors also influence their opinions on the results of their efforts as shown below:

	Age		
	Under 45	45-64	65 and over
Activities thought to have done most for people:			
Housing and Education	22%	34%	39%
Town Planning, Roads and Traffic	18%	18%	14%
Don't Know: Nothing	16%	9%	9%

These results are somewhat surprising. It might have been expected that younger councillors would feel closer to the educational and housing problems of their areas. Perhaps the indication is that younger councillors *because of their awareness* of these problems feel less sure that an adequate contribution has been made.

Table 3.27 shows how opinions vary with educational level. It is those councillors with some form of further education who are most impressed with council work on housing. They are least inclined to mention the Public Utility Services or work on Roads and Traffic problems.

TABLE 3.27
'Which one of all the activities or decisions of the council during 1964 has done most to help people or improve things?'—by education

	Total	Education		
		Elementary	Secondary	Further
	%	%	%	%
Housing	28	29	23	39
Utility services	17	15	24	8
Town planning	11	13	8	12
Old people's welfare	7	7	7	7
Roads/traffic	6	9	4	2
Education	5	5	5	6
Recreational and social facilities	4	5	4	3
Other welfare services	2	2	2	1
Other answers	7	6	8	6
Don't know	7	6	9	5
None	4	2	4	6
Not answered	2	1	2	5
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(518)	(467)	(216)

(The total of 1,235 includes 34 informants who did not give their education.)

Councillors' attitudes towards Committee work: Personal effectiveness

The discussion so far has been about councillors' views of the outcome of the *council's* efforts. How do they feel about their own *personal* part in the work? We asked councillors 'On which committee have you been most effective in getting things done?' and, following this 'On which committees have you not been as effective as you would like?'

Housing and the provision of social and recreational amenities were the two fields where most councillors felt they had been effective but taking these together only just over a quarter of all councillors chose them and the others spread their choices over a wide range. A notable proportion of councillors (14%) would not indicate any particular committee as their most effective (Table 3.28). Taking all councillors together, then, it does not appear that any one area of council work has provided a dominant interest, but there are sharp differences in response between the different types of council. Work on Health and Welfare Committees for example has provided an area of effectiveness for nearly a quarter of all county and county borough councillors but for much smaller proportions in other kinds of area. And the areas of effectiveness are not necessarily those where authorities have most responsibility. Only 7% of county councillors chose education, for example, as their most effective area. This was much the same proportion as other types of area. The proportions noted for the metropolitan boroughs are based on a rather small total number of interviews but 13 out of 46 metropolitan borough councillors interviewed put protective services as their 'most effective' field.

When councillors felt that they had been most effective in a particular committee this was chiefly because they took a special interest in the subject or believed that they had 'special knowledge' about it. Very few attribute their effectiveness to long experience on the committee in question, or to being helped especially by co-operative chairmen or officials.

TABLE 3.28

'On which committee have you been most effective in getting things done or the right decisions made?'—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Housing	13	10	8	4	10	19
Amenities (open spaces, entertainments, etc.) ..	13	7	10	9	14	15
Trading & public utilities	9	22	22	2	6	4
Protective (police, fire, etc.)	8	1	2	28	5	14
Public health	8	14	3	4	11	5
Health and welfare	7	20	15	—	6	1
Highways and roads	7	6	9	20	11	—
Education	6	7	5	9	6	6
Finance	5	5	1	9	7	5
Town & country planning	2	1	7	—	1	2
General administration ..	1	5	5	—	—	—
None, none in particular	14	1	13	5	21	14
On 0 or 1 committee ..	7	1	*	10	2	15
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

* Less than 0.5%.

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Table 3.29 shows the areas in which councillors felt that they *have not* been as effective as they would have liked. Nearly half of all councillors could not think of any area in which they had not been as effective as they would like. The self-critical spirit was most evident amongst the metropolitan borough councillors and least evident amongst rural district councillors. It was on finance that the largest group of councillors felt they had been to some extent ineffective, although this is true of very few county borough councillors. On the other hand, 12 out of the 46 metropolitan borough councillors did not feel that they had been very effective in connection with the provision of amenities.

When councillors were asked to say why they thought they had not been effective on particular committees substantial proportions said 'insufficient knowledge' or 'not interested in the subject'. The largest single group of councillors simply felt that they had not been able to get enough weight behind their views either by themselves or in association with others. These three groups of reasons were given by nearly three-quarters of all councillors who thought they had not been as effective as they would have liked on particular committees. Once again, compared with these three reasons, relatively few councillors mentioned lack of committee experience.

TABLE 3.29
'On which committee have you NOT been as effective as you would like?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Finance	11	5	2	4	13	16
Town & country planning	9	4	4	11	13	8
Highways and roads ..	6	10	2	4	6	5
Public health	4	2	3	4	6	3
Amenities	4	2	10	27	4	—
Protective	4	10	7	4	1	4
Health and welfare ..	3	10	7	—	1	—
Education	2	7	8	—	2	—
General administration ..	2	4	4	7	3	—
Trading & public utilities	1	—	5	—	1	1
Housing	4	—	2	4	5	4
None, none in particular, only on one committee	49	45	46	35	44	58
Not answered	1	1	—	—	1	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

Personal effectiveness and public good compared

We have shown in the preceding paragraphs how councillors feel about their council's contribution to the public welfare and, separately, how they feel about their own *personal* efforts. If we compare the two sets of results considerable differences emerge.

In Table 3.30 we have brought together the proportions of councillors feeling that they have been 'most effective' on particular committees and also the proportions feeling that they 'had not been as effective' as they would like on the same committees. Nearly a half of all councillors did not feel that they could mention any committee in which they had been ineffective. In columns 1 and 2 we have recalculated the proportions including only the committees actually mentioned. If we subtract the percentage in column 2 (ineffective) from that in column 1 (effective) we can strike a balance of 'effectiveness' (column 3). For example 16% of those councillors naming a committee on which they had been most effective chose Housing while 8% thought they had been ineffective on the Housing Committee. There is a balance of effectiveness in favour of Housing. On the other hand 6% of councillors naming a committee thought they had been most effective on the Finance Committee but 22% thought they had been ineffective. There is a balance of ineffectiveness against this committee. For each committee this balance gives us an overall summary of how councillors (taken as a whole) feel about their work on that particular committee.

TABLE 3.30
Feelings about committee effectiveness and public benefits
(All Councillors)

	(1) Committee on which most effective (named activities)	(2) Committee on which most ineffective (named activities)	(3) Balance of effective- ness	(4) Rank order of effective- ness	(5) Council activity has done most to help people or improve things
	%	%	%		%
Housing	16	8	+8	(2=)	35 (1)
Amenities (open spaces, enter- tainments) .. .	16	8	+8	(2=)	5 (7)
Trading and public utilities ..	12	2	+10	(1)	21 (2)
Protective (police, fire, etc.) ..	10	8	+2	(6=)	— (8=)
Public health .. .	10	8	+2	(6=)	— (8=)
Health and welfare .. .	9	6	+3	(5)	11 (4)
Highways and roads .. .	9	12	-3	(8=)	8 (5)
Education .. .	8	4	+4	(4)	6 (6)
Finance .. .	6	22	-16	(11)	— (8=)
Town and country planning ..	3	18	-15	(10)	14 (3)
General administration ..	1	4	-3	(8=)	— (8=)
Total .. .	100	100			100
(Numbers) ..	(976)	(621)			(1,235)

In column 4 of Table 3.30 we have given a rank order of the balance of effectiveness for each committee. The largest positive balance of effectiveness is for Trading and Public Utilities Committees (12—2=10%) and this is given rank order 1. The largest balance of ineffectiveness is for Finance Committees and this is given rank order 11. Other methods of ranking effectiveness might have been used. We could, for example, have taken into account only the proportion naming a particular committee as their most effective and ignored

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the negative side of the picture. This, however, would give the same three committees: Housing, Amenities, Trading and Public Utilities as the most effective; and the same three committees: Finance, Town and Country Planning, General Administration at the bottom as the least effective. Column 4 then tells us how, on balance, councillors feel about their personal effectiveness on council committees.

In Column 5 we have noted for the same committees the proportions of councillors naming them as the *council* activity which 'had done most to help people', recalculated to include answers naming activities only. We have assigned rank orders to these too. It will be seen that two of the top three (Trading and Public Utilities and Housing) in the order of *personal effectiveness* are also named first and second amongst the most helpful *council activities*. On the other hand Town and Country Planning which has a relatively high rank order as a *council* activity comes very low down on the rank order of personal effectiveness. Councillors felt that it was a worthy public activity but did not on balance get much sense of personal achievement from taking part in it. Finance, the Protective Services and General Administration were not mentioned by councillors as activities which helped people. It is perhaps understandable that the 'backroom activities' which affect all council activities, such as the work of the Finance Committee, should not be cited as examples of council efforts to help people. It is less clear why the protective services should not have been mentioned. The work of Amenities Committees is ranked high in the order of personal effectiveness but much lower in the order of committees which 'helped people or improved things'. Councillors, on balance, feel they have used their personal talents, but are not so sure that this work has led to much change in the public situation.

We can in a similar way compare the order of effectiveness with the proportion of all committee time actually spent on particular activities. Table 3.31 gives in column 2 the rank order of personal effectiveness and in column 4 the rank order of time spent. Most time was spent on Housing (rank order 1) and this committee's work had a high rank order of personal effectiveness (rank order 2) but the committee which had the highest rank order of personal effectiveness, namely the Trading and Public Utilities, came relatively low down in the order of time spent. Although this committee took a relatively small proportion of all committee time, relatively large proportions of councillors, on balance, felt that they had been personally effective working on it. The opposite is the case for Town and Country Planning on which a relatively large proportion of all committee time was spent but on which, on balance, many more councillors felt ineffective than felt effective.

Thirty per cent of all council committee time was spent on activities where councillors show a high rank order of personal effectiveness—Trading and Public Utilities, Housing and Amenities. On the other hand, Finance, Town and Country Planning, General Administration, Highways and Roads, which are the four *lowest* in the rank order of personal effectiveness between them took 42% of all committee time.

We can conclude from this that a very large part of all committee time is spent in activities from which councillors do not gain any great sense of personal achievement. This clearly has strong implications for the organisation of

committee work or the allocation of committee responsibilities. It seems a particularly unhappy situation at a time when urban development is thought to be one of the great new fields of council activity that the large proportion of councillors' work which is devoted to Town and Country Planning should not give a greater sense of personal achievement.

The discrepancies between helpful council activities selected by councillors and the activities which give a feeling of personal effectiveness may be seen not only for all councillors taken together but also within the different types of council. As already noted 24% of county councillors said that Education had been the council activity which 'did most to help people' but only 7% of county councillors thought that the Education Committee was the one in which they had been personally 'most effective'. Twenty-five per cent of county borough councillors chose Town Planning as the council activity which had done most to help people but only 7% thought that the committee concerned had been their personal 'most effective' one. Thirty-seven per cent of rural district councillors chose Trading and Public Utilities Committee activities as the area where their council had done most to help people but 4% thought the committee concerned their 'most effective' one.

Amongst other groupings of councillors these discrepancies are specially noticeable in the age groups. Thus 47% of the younger councillors thought that Housing and Education were areas where the *council* had done most to help people. Only 13% of this group felt that these two subjects had been their own most effective areas.

TABLE 3.31
Balance of effectiveness on committees and time spent
(All Councillors)

	(1) Balance of effectiveness on committee*	(2) Rank order of balance of effectiveness	(3) Proportion of all committee time spent	(4) Rank order of time spent
	%		%	
Housing	+ 8	(2 =)	18	(1)
Amenities (open spaces, entertain- ments)	+ 8	(2 =)	9	(5)
Trading and public utilities	+ 10	(1)	3	(10)
Protective (police, fire, etc.)	+ 2	(6 =)	2	(11)
Public health	+ 2	(6 =)	6	(9)
Health and welfare	+ 3	(5)	10	(4)
Highways and roads	- 3	(8 =)	7	(7 =)
Education	+ 4	(4)	7	(7 =)
Finance	- 16	(11)	11	(3)
Town and country planning	- 15	(10)	16	(2)
General administration	- 3	(8 =)	8	(6)
Total			97†	
(Numbers of those naming com- mittees on which they had been effective)	(976)		(1,235)	

* The difference between the percentages stating that they had been effective and ineffective in the particular type of committee.

† 3% of informants' time was spent on committees which did not fall into the groups named.

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The Councillor and his Committees

Another method used to enable councillors to express their opinions on committee work was to ask the question 'Are the committees you are now on those which interest you most, or where you feel you could do most good, or would you prefer to change some of them if you could?' (Table 3.32). Only a minority of all councillors say clearly that they would prefer to change some of the committees on which they sit, but the proportion amounts to almost a quarter amongst county councillors and county borough councillors. It will be remembered that it is in these two types of authority that councillors sit on most committees. Only 11% of the metropolitan borough councillors would prefer to change some of their committees and 7% of rural district councillors. These are the authorities where councillors have fewest committees. Clearly, those who sit on most committees have accepted some assignments under pressure, or, at any rate, with some feeling of personal reluctance.

TABLE 3.32
Feelings about present committees—by council type

	All councils	County Councils	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Present committees are those which interest most	52	45	58	70	46	57
Present committees those where councillor feels he can do most good	16	12	13	6	16	20
Both of above	10	17	5	13	11	7
Would prefer to change some	16	24	23	11	20	7
Not on any committee	5	—	—	—	7	8
Not answered	1	2	1	—	—	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)
Average number of committees per councillor	5.8	7.7	7.9	4.0	6.5	4.0

The older councillors are more likely than the younger councillors to say that their present committees are those which interest them most, and the younger councillors are much more likely than the older ones to say that they would prefer to change some of their committees. But this cannot be ascribed, as was suggested for the difference by council type, to the number of committees on which the various age groups sit (Table 3.33). Perhaps it is not so much the weight of work in the case of the younger councillors as the allocation of committees which leads to a larger proportion wanting change.

We have shown that there are some differences between the distribution of committee times of the older and younger councillors. These differences are much smaller than those between the socio-economic groups or between the different types of council. Nevertheless there may still be a discrepancy between

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the committee work the younger councillors would prefer and that which they find themselves doing.

TABLE 3.33
Feelings about present committees—by age

	Total	Age		
		Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%
Present committees are those which interest most	52	40	52	64
Present committees those where councillor feels he can do most good	16	20	14	18
Both of above	10	9	9	10
Would prefer to change some	16	25	18	4
Not on any committee	5	6	6	4
Not answered	1	—	1	—
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(234)	(704)	(280)
Average monthly time spent on committees (hours)	29.2	27.0	29.5	31.4

(The total of 1,235 includes 17 informants who did not give their age.)

No doubt councillors' feelings about their committee work are affected by their special interest in particular subjects and their ability to specialise in them. Table 3.34 shows to what extent councillors did try to specialise in particular subjects and in what subjects councillors liked to think of themselves as specialising.

TABLE 3.34
'Do you specialise in particular aspects of the council's work?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Try to give equal attention to all aspects	52	34	38	24	50	67
Specialise in some:	48	65	62	76	50	32
Housing	(16)	(2)	(19)	(15)	(18)	(17)
Planning	(13)	(9)	(17)	(13)	(17)	(9)
Health and welfare	(15)	(32)	(25)	(33)	(9)	(9)
Education	(8)	(23)	(21)	(—)	(8)	(1)
Finance	(8)	(10)	(7)	(19)	(8)	(6)
Amenities	(7)	(1)	(8)	(23)	(12)	(1)
Highways and roads	(7)	(15)	(4)	(8)	(7)	(4)
Trading and public utilities	(2)	(1)	(3)	(7)	(2)	(3)
Protective	(2)	(6)	(5)	(—)	(2)	(—)
Other answers	(6)	(14)	(9)	(6)	(7)	(2)
Not answered	—	1	—	—	—	1
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

(Percentages in parentheses add up to more than the total specialising because some informants gave more than one answer.)

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There seems to be no direct relationship between the responses to this question and the number of committees on which councillors sit or the time they spend on committee work. Specialisation is *not* at present inhibited by the sheer weight of committee work.

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
Specialise in some aspect	48%	65% (2)	62% (3)	76% (1)	50% (4)	32% (5)
Average number of committees	5.8	7.7 (2)	7.9 (1)	4.0 (4=)	6.5 (3)	4.0 (4=)
Average monthly time spent on committees (hours)	29.2	36.8 (2)	47.0 (1)	20.6 (4)	31.0 (3)	19.0 (5)

It was perhaps to be expected that many councillors would specialise in Housing. But the table below shows that there is a fairly close agreement between the present distribution of *all* committee time of all councillors and the distribution of specialisation amongst the 48% of councillors who say that they specialise in particular subjects.

	Subject specialisation	Proportion of all committee time spent	Committee on which councillor is most effective
	%	%	%
Housing	16	18	13
Public health; health and welfare	15	16	15
Planning	13	16	2
Education	8	7	6
Finance	8	11	5
Amenities	7	9	13
Highways and roads	7	7	7
Trading and public utilities	2	3	9
Protective	2	2	8
General administration	—	8	1
Other answers	6	3	—
None	52	—	14
On 0 or 1 committee	—	—	7
Total	136*	100	100

* Some councillors said they 'specialise' in more than one subject.

There is not the same correspondence between the distribution of the specialisations of the specialising councillors and the distribution of committees on which councillors have felt themselves to be 'most effective'. Thus 13% of all councillors say they specialise in planning activities, but only 2% felt

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the Planning Committee to be their most effective one. On the other hand, 2% said they specialised in the Public Utilities work of their councils but 9% of all councillors said that it was their most effective committee.

Is there enough time for the work?

Further light is thrown on the relationship between the personal interests of councillors and their actual activities by Tables 3.35-36. Table 3.35 shows that a substantial proportion of councillors do not feel that they are able to spend as 'much time as is needed on all aspects of council work'.

TABLE 3.35
'Are you able to spend as much time as needed on all aspects of council work?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
Enough time for all ..	63	65	51	54	56	75
Not enough time for some	37	34	48	46	44	25
Don't know	—	—	1	—	—	—
Not answered	—	1	—	—	—	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)
Average monthly time spent on committees (hours)	29.2	36.8	47.0	20.6	31.0	19.0

It is interesting to compare the responses to this question with the time councillors actually spend on all committee work (Table 3.36). On average the councillors saying that there was enough time spent 26 hours a working month on committees and the councillors saying there was not enough time 32 hours a month. Those saying there is not enough time in fact chose to spend more time than others.

TABLE 3.36
Time spent on all committee work—
by 'Are you able to spend as much time as needed on all aspects of council work?'

	Total	Enough time for all	Not enough time for some
	%	%	%
Total diary time in hours/6 months:			
1-50	13	15	11
51-100	13	27	20
101-150	25	20	24
151-200	21	9	13
200 or more	11	14	21
Not answered	17	15	11
Total	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(777)	(455)
Average hours per working month	29	26	32

(The total of 1,235 includes 3 informants who did not answer the question.)

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The manual worker councillors are more likely than others, and especially more likely than employers and managers in small firms and farmers, to say that there is *not enough* time (Table 3.37). The former spend *more* time on all their public duties (68 hours a month) than other councillors. The small employers and managers spend less time (43 hours a month) than others. According to this table the *less* time spent on all public duties the more likely the group concerned is to say that there is enough time. For the councillors in each socio-economic group, then, the response to this question must relate more to the time they are willing to spend on their public activities or to the degree of involvement in the work rather than to the time actually spent on it. Only in this way can we explain the responses given by councillors in the different council types in relation to the time they actually spend on their public duties.

TABLE 3.37

'Are you able to spend as much time as needed on all aspects of council work?'—
by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more subordinates and professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 subordinates and farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Enough time for all ..	63	65	67	59	46
Not enough time for some	37	35 (3)	33 (4)	40 (2)	54 (1)
Don't know/not answered	—	—	—	1	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)
Average monthly time spent on all council work	52 hrs.	48 hrs. (3)	43 hrs. (4)	57 hrs. (2)	68 hrs. (1)

(Numbers in parentheses represent rank order of socio-economic groups: the total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who were retired, had never worked or were in residual categories of employment.)

Table 3.38, however, shows that younger councillors were much more likely than older ones to say that they were not able to spend as much time as they thought was needed. They spend in fact less time on public duties than the older ones. Perhaps they have more pressures on their time from other, personal, activities than the older councillors or perhaps those councillors who are over the age of 65 not only find themselves more free to spend time on their council work but also feel the pressures for action somewhat less urgently.

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TABLE 3.38
'Are you able to spend as much time as needed on all aspects of council work?'—
by age

	Total	Age		
		Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%
Enough time for all	63	44	60	84
Not enough time for some	37	56 (1)	40 (2)	15 (3)
Don't know/not answered	—	—	—	1
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(234)	(704)	(280)
Average monthly time spent on all council work	52 hrs.	47 hrs. (3)	53 hrs. (2)	55 hrs. (1)

(The total of 1,235 includes 17 informants who did not give their age.)

When asked to say which aspects of council work do not get enough attention, councillors suggested that it is the time needed for contact with, or background knowledge of, particular services which falls short. But most of the leading committees were mentioned especially Town Planning. More than one-quarter of councillors saying that not enough time was spent on some aspects of the work did not specify what these aspects were.

Finally, all councillors were asked 'Would you say that proper weight was given to all points of view in the decisions made in council or committee at present, or that some individuals or any group has too much influence or power?' Table 3.39 shows that the majority of councillors felt that proper weight is given to all points of view, but a majority of metropolitan borough councillors felt either that some individuals or a group had too much power. Nearly half of the county borough councillors, too, felt that particular groups or individuals had too much power in the deliberations of their councils. It is in the rural districts that most councillors feel that proper weight is given to all the points of view.

TABLE 3.39
'Is proper weight given to all points of view or have some individuals or any group too much influence or power?'—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Proper weight given to all	64	60	55	48	60	74
Some individuals have too much power	14	13	13	20	15	12
A group has too much power	22	27	34	37	27	11
Not answered	1	2	—	2	1	3
Total	101	102	102	107	103	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

(Percentages add to more than 100 because some informants said 'some people' and 'a group' have too much power.)

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When councillors were asked to say which group had too much power, the answer most frequently given was 'the majority group'. Fifteen of the 17 metropolitan borough councillors who thought that a group had too much power (or a third of all metropolitan borough councillors) named 'the majority group'. The proportion was much less amongst all other types of council. It was lowest in the counties and the rural districts. In the counties, however, nearly a third of all councillors who thought that a group had too much power (or 9% of all county councillors) thought that there was too much power in the hands of aldermen or the older councillors, and it is of interest that a substantial proportion of rural district councillors, too, thought that there was too much power in the hands of 'elder statesmen'.

Younger councillors were somewhat more likely (42%) than older ones (29%) to say that 'a group' or some individuals have too much power.

Those who felt that, because of the power exercised by some individuals or a particular group, proper weight was not given to all points of view were also rather more likely than others to believe, perhaps because of this, that full use was not made of all existing powers (Table 3.40).

TABLE 3.40
'Does your council make full use of its power and authority?'—
by 'Is proper weight given to all points of view in the decisions made in
council or committee?'

	Total	Proper weight given to all points of view	Some individuals have too much power	A group has too much power
	%	%	%	%
Full use made	78	84	63	65
No, full use not made	15	9	27	27
Yes, in some cases, no, in others	5	5	5	6
Don't know	2	2	5	2
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(790)	(173)	(277)

(The column totals add up to more than 1,235 because some informants said 'some people' and 'a group' have too much power.)

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER III

Types of Council Committees

- Housing**—including slum clearance, overcrowding, mortgages, rent control, letting.
- Town and Country Planning**—including (re)development, planning, estates, building control, national parks.
- Finance**—including estimates, capital expenditure, licensing, rates, valuation, accounts, finance and general purposes.
- Health and Welfare**—including old and blind people, children, meals on wheels, health visits, nursing homes, ambulance staff.
- Amenities**—including open spaces, entertainments, libraries, museums, swimming baths.
- General Administration**—including general purposes, establishments, public relations, law and parliamentary.
- Education**—including school building, staffing, school meals, youth, adult education, grants and scholarships.
- Highways and Roads**—including construction, maintenance, lighting, public safety, rivers and streams, finance and staffing for roads, etc.
- Public Health**—including sanitary services, refuse disposal, inspection of foods, weights and measures and individual health services (vaccination, etc.).
- Trading and Public Utilities**—including abattoirs and markets, bulk purchases, water, gas, electricity, transport.
- Protective**—including police, fire, civil defence.
- Other**—not falling under any of the above headings.

Summary of Chapter III

Part 1. The way Councillors spend their public time

1. On average councillors are spending about 52 hours per working month on their public activities. Over one-half of this time goes on council meetings, attending committees or activities connected with committees. Twenty-two per cent of all councillors' public time is spent sitting on council or committee.

2. There are substantial variations in the time spent on their public duties by different types of councillor. County borough councillors spend more time than the average on *committee work and on electors* whilst rural district and the former metropolitan borough councillors spend less. It follows from this that if more authorities became all-purpose councils, such as county boroughs now are, then more time on average would be needed for council work, unless of course there were concomitant changes in council procedures. The next largest differences are between the socio-economic groups. The manual worker councillors spend most time on *committees and electors* whilst the small employer and farmer councillors spend least. Manual workers are more under-represented numerically on councils than any section of the population. The proportion of councillors who are small employers and farmers is four times the proportion of this group in the population. Councillors with least education and lower incomes are similarly spending more time on this work than other councillors but these differences are smaller than those between types of council or socio-economic groups.

Council experience—Summary—
by council type

	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs	Urban districts	Rural districts
Number of committees ..	8.5 (1)	8.1 (2)	3.5 (6)	6.2 (4)	6.5 (3)	3.8 (5)
Proportion on 6 or more committees ..	67% (2)	74% (1)	15% (6)	51% (4)	57% (3)	19% (5)
Total meeting time per month in hrs. ..	36.5 (2)	47.0 (1)	20.6 (5)	32.6 (3)	30.8 (4)	19.0 (6)
Time with electors per month in hrs. ..	7.9 (4=)	11.3 (1)	7.9 (4=)	9.3 (2)	8.4 (3)	4.7 (6)
Proportion spending 10 or more hrs. with electors ..	24% (4)	45% (1)	23% (5)	34% (2)	29% (3)	11% (6)
Time representing council in organisations per month in hrs. ..	8.1 (1)	7.0 (2)	6.8 (3)	5.5 (5)	5.9 (4)	3.2 (6)

Summary of Chapter III

By socio-economic group

	All councillors	Employers & managers with 25 or more sub- ordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 sub- ordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
Number of committees	5.8	5.9 (3)	4.9 (4)	6.2 (2)	6.8 (1)
Proportion on 6 or more committees	44%	47% (3)	31% (4)	50% (2)	56% (1)
Total meeting time per month in hrs.	29.2	27.0 (3)	23.4 (4)	31.8 (2)	38.8 (1)
Time with electors per month in hrs.	7.5	6.3 (3)	5.8 (4)	8.4 (3)	11.2 (1)
Proportion spending 10 or more hrs. with electors	26%	19% (3)	18% (4)	29% (2)	41% (1)
Time representing council in organisations per month in hrs.	5.4	5.1 (3)	4.5 (4)	5.9 (2)	6.6 (1)

By age

	Under 45	45-54	55-64	65 and over
Number of committees	5.3 (4)	5.8 (2=)	5.8 (2=)	6.3 (1)
Proportion on 6 or more committees	39% (4)	45% (2=)	45% (2=)	48% (1)
Total meeting time per month in hrs.	27.0 (4)	28.6 (3)	30.2 (2)	31.4 (1)
Time with electors per month in hrs.	7.4 (2)	8.1 (1)	7.3 (3)	7.2 (4)
Proportion spending 10+ hrs. with electors	28% (2)	29% (1)	23% (3)	21% (4)
Time representing council in organisations per month in hrs.	4.2 (4)	5.5 (3)	5.6 (2)	6.4 (1)

Whilst on average something over 29 hrs. per working month are spent on committee work over 40% of all councillors are spending less than 20 hrs. a month on this activity and about one-fifth are spending more than 40 hrs. a month. Nearly half of all county borough councillors and about one-third of manual worker councillors are spending 40 hrs. or more per month. On the other hand, over half of all the small employer and farmer councillors are spending less than 20 hrs. a month on committee work.

3. It is not councillors who have retired from work who spend most time on council work, but rather those who are working part time, and housewives. The proportion of councillors who are spending more than 40 hrs. a month goes up as the income level goes down. About a quarter of the poorer councillors are spending more than 40 hrs. a month compared with one in eight of the wealthier ones.

4. 16% of all councillors are members of council only or of one or two committees but a small minority (4%) are members of 15 or more. Over 60% of councillors are members of 3-8 committees.

Chapter III

5. There are big differences in the times at which meetings start in the different types of council. In the county councils over two-thirds of all meetings start in the morning and most of the rest in the afternoon. In the county boroughs most start in the afternoon, whilst in the urban districts two-thirds start after 6.30 p.m. A larger proportion of older councillors attend meetings starting in the morning, whilst a larger proportion of the younger councillors attend the meetings starting after 6.30. It seems to follow that, by setting the times for their meetings, councillors are to some extent also deciding what kind of people attend them.

6. 44% of the councillors' time or about 23 hrs. a month is spent away from committee work. About 7½ hrs. a month or 14% of the councillors' public time is spent on electors' problems and another 11.8 hrs. a month or 23% is spent with other organisations on which he either represents the council or follows an individual interest.

7. The chapter gives information on the way all committee time is distributed between different committees. Housing takes up 18% of all committee time and 16% goes on Town and Country Planning. Over half of rural district council time goes on these two activities. In county councils over half goes on Health and Welfare and on Education. The proportion of all committee time spent on General Administration (including general purposes and staff) is greater in the smaller authorities than in the larger ones.

8. There are no major differences between the way new councillors and those with longer service spend their time but the newer councillors seem to spend a rather smaller proportion of committee time on Health, Welfare or Education and a rather larger proportion than longer-service councillors on the Public Health and Amenities committees.

Part 2. Councillors' Opinions

9. In the opinions of councillors it was their *council's work* on Housing, the Public Utility services, and Town Planning, which did most 'to help people and improve things' in 1964, and Housing was thought most important in all kinds of authority except county councils. Education was put first by county councillors and the public utility services, such as lighting, by rural district councillors. Older councillors attached greater importance than the younger to what councils had done on Housing and Education. Councillors seem to rate their own *personal* effectiveness in rather different ways from their opinions on the *council's* contribution to public welfare. Whilst 28% thought Housing was the council's biggest field of public service only 13% thought Housing was their own most effective field. On the other hand whilst only 4% thought that the provision of amenities was its outstanding service, 13% thought their own most effective contribution was in this field. These discrepancies between what councillors feel about their own role and the work of their authorities are found in all types of authority and in groups of councillors with different characteristics. 47% of the younger councillors thought that Housing and Education were areas where the council had done most to help people but only 13% of this group felt that these two committee activities had been their own most effective areas.

Summary of Chapter III

10. An attempt is made to assess the balance of councillors' opinions on their committee work by contrasting committees where they feel they have been effective with those where they feel they have not been effective. Trading and Public Utilities committees, on balance, come top as areas where councillors felt most effective, followed by Housing and Amenities committees. Finance and Planning come bottom of the list as areas where, on balance, councillors felt least effective. About 30% of all committee time was spent on activities where councillors felt they had, on balance, been most effective personally. 42% of all committee time went on committees where, on balance, councillors felt they had been least effective personally.

11. A majority of councillors, nevertheless, still felt they were on committees which interested them most or where they could do most good. 16% of all councillors (25% of the younger ones) would prefer to change some committees.

12. 37% of all councillors do not feel that they have as much time as is needed for all aspects of the work and generally speaking it is the councillors who are already spending *most* time on council work who feel that there is *not* time available to do justice to it. However, younger councillors, who in fact now spend *less* time than others, are more likely to feel that there is not enough time now available for the work. Two-thirds of all councillors feel that proper weight is now given to all points of view in council deliberations, but 14% feel that some individuals, and 22% feel that some groups, have too much power.

13. If we group some of the opinions of councillors on their committee work we can form a general picture.

Index of attitude to Committees—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Would prefer to change some committees ..	16	24 (1)	23 (2)	11 (4)	20 (3)	7 (5)
There is not enough time for all aspects of work	37	34 (4)	48 (1)	46 (2)	44 (3)	24 (5)
Some groups have too much power ..	22	27 (3=)	34 (2)	37 (1)	27 (3=)	11 (5)
Some individuals have too much power ..	14	13 (3=)	13 (3=)	20 (1)	15 (2)	12 (5)
	89	98 (4)	118 (1)	114 (3)	116 (2)	55 (5)
Average number of com- mittees	5.8	8.5 (1)	8.1 (2)	3.5 (5)	6.4 (3)	3.8 (4)

This index relates only to some limited aspects of council work. But if it is used for what it is worth it seems that councillors in the urbanised areas are most dissatisfied and rural district councillors least dissatisfied. Rural district councillors sit on relatively few committees but so did the former metropolitan borough councillors. There is, then, no direct connection, according to this

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limited result, between the *amount* of committee work and councillors' feelings about it. We must look elsewhere for the explanation of attitudes towards committee work and perhaps the evidence given earlier of the discrepancies between what the councillor spends his time on and where he feels effective is suggestive.

The tables below show how age and socio-economic status relate to the index of attitude towards committees. Younger councillors are very much less satisfied with their committee work than their elders. The differences between the socio-economic groups are less consistent but in general the position of the manual worker councillors comes fairly close to that of the younger councillors.

Index of attitude to Committees—
by age

	Age		
	Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%
Would prefer to change some committees	25 (1)	18 (2)	4 (3)
There is not enough time for all aspects of work	56 (1)	40 (2)	15 (3)
Some groups have too much power	27 (1)	21 (2=)	21 (2=)
Some individuals have too much power	16 (1=)	16 (1=)	8 (3)
	124 (1)	95 (2)	48 (3)

Index of attitude to Committees—
by socio-economic group

	Employers & managers with 25 or more subordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 subordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
Would prefer to change some committees	19 (3)	13 (4)	20 (1=)	20 (1=)
There is not enough time for all aspects of work	35 (3)	33 (4)	40 (2)	54 (1)
Some groups have too much power	20 (3)	19 (4)	30 (1)	27 (2)
Some individuals have too much power	16 (1)	15 (2=)	13 (4)	15 (2=)
	90 (3)	80 (4)	103 (2)	116 (1)

CHAPTER IV

Satisfactions and frustrations of Council Work

PART 1: PERSONAL SATISFACTIONS AND FRUSTRATIONS

Since the work of a councillor requires considerable sacrifices of time, sometimes financial loss, and other frustrations of various kinds, it is clear that some compensating satisfactions must be gained from it. Because council work is voluntary, it is the excess of satisfactions over the sacrifices and frustrations which makes councillors willing to carry on, and the reverse situation which makes them give up. It is therefore important to know what councillors find satisfying about the work as well as what they find dissatisfying or frustrating

In order to explore the positive and negative aspects of council life we enquired about sources of satisfaction and frustration, how council work had made use of potential abilities and its effect on private and occupational life. From the items which seemed most significant in contributing to overall satisfaction or dissatisfaction we constructed an 'index of satisfaction' which indicates the degree of satisfaction with council work found in different types of councillor.

Sources of satisfaction

Informants were asked 'what are the things which have given you most satisfaction as a councillor?'. The question was open, and no particular kind of answer was suggested by the interviewer. On average, informants mentioned nearly two items each which gave them satisfaction. In order to simplify the analysis, we asked informants who had given more than one item which they considered the main one. The proportions of various *main* items of satisfaction (one per councillor) are very nearly the same as the proportions of all items given.

Table 4.1 shows that nearly two-thirds of the items mentioned as main sources of satisfaction were connected with some particular council activity. Housing and old people's welfare accounted for over a half of these particular activities, or over a third of all main sources of satisfaction. Old people's welfare was a consistent source of satisfaction in all types of authority, but housing was mentioned most frequently in metropolitan boroughs and rural districts, and least frequently in counties, in which contact with people's housing problems is more remote. Educational matters seem to be a sizeable source of satisfaction only in counties and county boroughs which carry major responsibility for them.

TABLE 4.1
 'Which ONE thing has given you most satisfaction?'—
 by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Particular council activities:	(62)	(50)	(57)	(63)	(54)	(61)
Housing	27	6	19	30	25	34
Old People's Welfare ..	9	11	12	9	8	8
Town Planning	7	5	5	7	6	8
Sewerage/Water/Refuse Collection	6	—	1	2	1	10
Recreational/Cultural ..	4	1	2	7	6	4
Education	3	18	8	—	1	—
Health Service	3	7	7	4	1	1
Street Lighting/Road Safety	2	1	—	2	6	2
Child Welfare	1	1	3	2	—	—
Feeling of achievement: ..	(16)	(22)	(23)	(13)	(27)	(11)
Helping Others	8	12	14	9	13	5
Getting Things Done ..	8	10	9	4	14	6
Administrative efficiency:	(8)	(11)	(4)	(13)	(7)	(7)
Co-operating with other Councillors/Officials ..	4	8	2	9	1	3
Financial Matters	2	1	—	2	3	2
Improving Conditions for Staff	2	2	2	2	3	2
Achieving honours (becom- ing Mayor, etc.)	1	1	4	4	—	1
Other answers	8	6	9	7	11	8
Don't know	5	10	3	—	1	6
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

The next group of answers were more generalised expressions of a feeling of achievement. 'Helping others' was mentioned by 8% of informants and 'getting things done' by another 8%. Satisfaction from helping others was lowest in the rural districts, while satisfaction with getting things done was lowest in the metropolitan boroughs.

The third group of answers, given by 8% of all informants may be described as matters of administrative efficiency. Four per cent mentioned co-operating with other councillors or officials and 2% each financial matters and improving conditions for staff. Finally, a separate but tiny group of 1% said that they gained their main satisfaction from achieving personal honours such as becoming mayor.

Satisfactions and frustrations of council work

Another way of gaining information on sources of satisfaction was to ask the question: 'Which aspect of council work do you prefer—making the broad policy decisions or dealing with the problems of particular individuals?' According to Table 4.2, broad policy decisions outweighed problems of individuals by 43%–34%, though there was a third category of 19% who liked both aspects. In metropolitan boroughs and rural districts a majority preferred dealing with problems of individuals. Housing matters probably account for a large part of the problems of individuals dealt with in metropolitan boroughs, and in rural districts the number of 'broad policy decisions' taken would be smaller than in the other types of authority. Women councillors tended to prefer dealing with the problems of individuals to the policy decisions by 47%–32% (Table 4.3).

TABLE 4.2
'Which aspect of council work do you prefer?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Broad policy decisions ..	43	50	46	31	48	34
Problems of particular individuals	34	33	34	50	26	41
Both	19	13	18	15	20	22
Don't know	1	—	—	—	2	1
Not answered	3	4	2	4	4	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

TABLE 4.3
'Which aspect of council work do you prefer?'—
by sex

	Total	Male	Female
	%	%	%
Broad policy decisions	43	45	32
Problems of particular individuals	34	31	47
Both	19	20	16
Don't know	1	1	—
Not answered	3	3	5
Total	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(1,057)	(178)

Among large employers, managers and professionals 62% preferred making policy decisions, compared with 23% who preferred dealing with individuals (Table 4.4). On the other hand, more manual workers preferred dealing with

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individuals to making policy decisions. More detailed analysis of socio-economic groups shows that amongst the farmers who are included in the second category the proportion preferring to deal with individuals rises to 48%. This is in line with the above average proportion giving this answer among rural districts.

TABLE 4.4
'Which aspect of council work do you prefer?'—
by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more sub- ordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 sub- ordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Broad policy decisions ..	43	62	44	44	35
Problems of particular individuals	34	23	38	29	43
Both	19	14	15	25	20
Don't know	1	—	2	1	2
Not answered	3	1	1	1	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)

(The total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who were retired, had never worked or were in residual categories of employment.)

Answers to the two different types of question on satisfaction—the open question and the question posing alternatives of individual problems or broad policy problems—may be brought together to form a general picture. Councillors who found satisfaction in concrete council activities may be grouped with those who preferred dealing with the problems of particular individuals. This may be referred to as the 'concrete activity-people' group. On the other hand those who found satisfaction in more general feelings of achievement or administrative efficiency may be grouped with those who preferred broad policy decisions. This may be called the 'policy-impersonal' group. In Table 4.4A the groups are compared by council type. The counties and smaller urban authorities have somewhat larger proportions of councillors finding satisfaction of the 'policy-impersonal' type and somewhat smaller proportions on other councils of the 'concrete activity-people' type. The position is reversed in the metropolitan boroughs and rural districts which have relatively larger proportions with 'concrete activity-people' satisfactions and relatively smaller proportions with 'policy-impersonal' type satisfactions.

Are these differences related to the scope and nature of the responsibilities of the various authorities? Does the intermediate position of county borough councillors indicate that they feel a broader range of satisfaction with their work both on the broad policy and concrete activity level?

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TABLE 4.4A
Main source of satisfaction—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan districts	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
'Concrete activity- People':						
Particular council activities	62	50 (5)	57 (3)	63 (2)	54 (4)	67 (1)
Problems of particular individuals	34	33 (4)	34 (3)	50 (1)	26 (5)	41 (2)
'Policy-Impersonal':						
Feeling of achievement/administrative efficiency	24	33 (2)	27 (3)	26 (4)	34 (1)	18 (5)
Broad policy decisions	43	50 (1)	46 (3)	31 (5)	48 (2)	34 (4)

Frustrations

We also asked informants: 'What are the things which you found most frustrating or unsatisfactory?'. Again the question was open, and replies were sorted into four main groups: administrative efficiency, relations with other councillors, particular council activities, and the attitude of the public. Details of the main sources of frustration are set out in Table 4.5.

TABLE 4.5
'What ONE thing did you find most frustrating or unsatisfactory?' —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	% (48)	% (51)	% (45)	% (45)	% (55)	% (46)
Administrative efficiency:						
Relations with central Govt/County Council	18	9	10	13	25	20
Delays/slowness/inability to get things done	16	18	21	13	18	15
Difficulty of obtaining finance	9	17	11	15	8	7
Relations with officials	3	5	3	4	—	3
Committee system ..	2	2	—	—	4	1
Relations with other councillors:	(16)	(22)	(23)	(20)	(17)	(14)
Ignorance/apathy/hostility of council members	8	13	8	7	4	9
Party politics/group opposition	8	9	15	13	13	5
Particular council activities:	(10)	(2)	(14)	(17)	(6)	(11)
Housing	8	1	13	17	4	8
Traffic/Roads	2	1	1	—	2	3
Attitude of public	4	1	3	—	4	5
Other answers	10	12	11	9	7	10
No comment/not answered	12	12	4	9	11	14
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

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Whereas satisfactions were predominantly concerned with particular forms of council activity, frustrations arose mainly out of the way the machinery of local government worked. These matters of administrative efficiency accounted for more than half of all frustrations named. Of this half, three-quarters (or more than a third of all frustrations) concerned relations with central government or county council and delays of various kinds. In the municipal, urban and rural districts, where the county council as well as central government has to be contended with, the figures are higher. Delays are felt frequently in all types of authority, but most of all by county borough councillors (21%).

Difficulties of obtaining finance or grants are greater sources of frustration in counties and metropolitan boroughs, and not so great in rural districts. This seems to relate to differences in the scope of activities of different kinds of authority. The committee system was rarely named as a source of frustration in any type of council. Relations with paid officials do not exceed 5% of all main sources of frustration in any type of council.

Under the heading of relations with other councillors the attitudes and behaviour of other council members were a greater source of frustration for county councillors than for other councillors. This could reflect the greater diversity of types of county councillor, drawn from a wide area and from different occupational backgrounds. Party politics and group opposition were mentioned by 8% of all informants as causing most frustration, more in the metropolitan boroughs and county boroughs and much less in the rural districts.

The only two particular council activities mentioned as sources of frustration by more than 1% of informants were housing and matters connected with traffic or roads. It is interesting to note that housing caused most frustration in the metropolitan boroughs where it also gave most satisfaction and caused least frustration in the counties where it gave least satisfaction. The attitude of the public caused least concern among county and metropolitan borough councillors.

There was very little difference in the sources of frustration of age or socio-economic groups. The older councillors tended to be slightly more disturbed by the attitudes and behaviour of other council members, and the large employers, managers and professionals by this and also by relations with the central government or county council.

Council work and personal life

We asked questions seeking to explore the effects of council work on the personal life of councillors. The first concerned the effect on private life and the second on use of potential abilities.

Councillors were asked 'Has your own private life suffered in any way or has it been helped as a result of your being on the council?' (Table 4.6). Sixty-four per cent of all informants said that council work had either made no difference

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to or had helped private life, while an additional 10% said that private life had suffered in some ways and been helped in others. Thus a total of 74% had either had some benefit in their private life, or not had it affected. This contrasts with 24% who reported that it had suffered and the 10% with mixed effects, making a total of 34% whose private life had suffered in some way. In county boroughs 39% said their private lives had suffered, but in rural districts only 11%. These proportions are related to time spent on council work. Councillors in metropolitan boroughs and rural districts had highest percentages reporting no differences made to private life, and these two types of authority are the lowest time spenders.

TABLE 4.6
'Has being a councillor affected your private life?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Private life has:						
Suffered	24	26	39	26	30	11
Been helped	26	22	17	17	23	34
Suffered in some ways and been helped in others	10	14	10	7	9	10
Made no difference	38	34	32	46	35	43
Not answered	2	4	2	4	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)
Average monthly time spent on all council work (in hrs.)	52	68 (2)	77 (1)	46 (4)	56 (3)	34 (5)

Manual and agricultural workers were more likely than other socio-economic groups to say that being a councillor had caused some suffering in their private lives (Table 4.7). Since these workers are the least likely to want to give up council work and spend the most time on it, it does not seem that the effect on private life is an important consideration to councillors, except perhaps to some of the younger ones, who were more likely than the older ones to say that their private life had suffered (Table 4.8).

TABLE 4.7
 'Has being a councillor affected your private life?'—
 by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more sub- ordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 sub- ordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Private life has:					
Suffered	24	25	22	24	35
Been helped	26	23	26	29	19
Suffered in some ways and been helped in others	10	10	7	15	12
Made no difference	38	39	42	31	30
Not answered	2	3	3	1	4
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)

(The total of 1,235 includes 118 informants who had not worked while on the council or were in residual categories of employment.)

TABLE 4.8
 'Has being a councillor affected your private life?'—by age

	Total	Age		
		Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%
Private life has:				
Suffered	24	30	20	17
Been helped	26	19	31	35
Suffered in some ways and been helped in others	10	11	8	7
Made no difference	38	36	39	40
Not answered	2	4	2	1
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(571)	(367)	(280)

(The total of 1,235 includes 17 informants who did not give their age.)

Informants were asked whether being a councillor had given them the opportunity of using abilities which otherwise they would not have used. Seventy-one per cent said that it had (Table 4.9). The percentages varied between 80 in the county boroughs (with the highest proportion of heavy time-spending but satisfied councillors) to 63 in the metropolitan boroughs. Those who said that council work had given them the opportunity to use potential abilities were asked to say in what ways. These were classified into three groups

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of abilities: social, intellectual, and organising and administrative. Social and intellectual abilities were mentioned roughly the same number of times. Organising and administrative abilities were thought to have been most often used in the county boroughs and least often in the rural districts.

TABLE 4.9
'Has being a councillor given you the opportunity of using abilities
which otherwise you would not have used?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	71	70	80	63	69	72
Social abilities:						
Public speaking and opportunity for self- expression	(23)	(23)	(21)	(14)	(21)	(26)
Dealing with and meet- ing people	(12)	(13)	(21)	(8)	(13)	(9)
Increasing personal influence and standing	(8)	(11)	(9)	(4)	(4)	(10)
Intellectual abilities:						
Widening outlook and knowledge	(27)	(30)	(28)	(25)	(26)	(28)
Developing levels of thought and initiative	(14)	(9)	(11)	(14)	(16)	(14)
Organising and adminis- trative abilities	(12)	(11)	(21)	(20)	(12)	(7)
Other answers	(4)	(3)	(1)	(4)	(7)	(2)
Not answered	(3)	(5)	(3)	(4)	(2)	(3)
No	24	24	15	31	27	24
Don't know	2	2	2	2	1	2
Not answered	3	4	3	4	3	2
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

(Details of abilities used add up to more than the total who said 'yes' because some informants named more than one ability.)

The proportion of informants saying that council work had given them the opportunity to use abilities varies from 52% among employers and managers of large establishments and professionals to 82% among manual and agricultural workers (Table 4.10). Also, the ways in which potential abilities are felt to be used varies: among items classified as social abilities there is little difference between the socio-economic groups in regard to dealing with people and

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increasing personal influence, but the non-manual and manual groups were more likely than others to say that they had had opportunities for public speaking and self-expression.

TABLE 4.10
 'Has being a councillor given you the opportunity of using abilities
 which otherwise you would not have used?'—
 by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more sub- ordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 sub- ordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	71	52	70	75	82
Social abilities:					
Public speaking and opportunity for self- expression	(23)	(14)	(21)	(29)	(29)
Dealing with and meet- ing people	(12)	(10)	(12)	(12)	(14)
Increasing personal in- fluence and standing	(8)	(6)	(8)	(8)	(7)
Intellectual abilities:					
Widening outlook and knowledge	(27)	(24)	(25)	(31)	(32)
Developing levels of thought and initiative	(14)	(6)	(13)	(20)	(15)
Organising and adminis- trative abilities ..	(12)	(11)	(6)	(16)	(21)
Other answers	(4)	(2)	(6)	(2)	(3)
Not answered	(3)	(3)	(4)	(1)	(4)
No	24	41	27	20	15
Don't know	2	4	—	3	3
Not answered	3	3	3	2	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(188)	(463)	(269)	(197)

(Details of abilities used add up to more than the total who said 'yes' because some informants named more than one ability.)

A more detailed breakdown of the answers by particular socio-economic groups showed even wider differences. Thus 100% of the small group of foremen and supervisors said that council work had given them the opportunity of using potential abilities, compared with only 33% among the self-employed professional workers. Clearly, the latter often have a working life which uses most of their abilities, whereas manual worker councillors whose abilities have presumably led to their becoming foremen or supervisors feel that their potential is even better used in council work.

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TABLE 4.10A

	Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates	Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates	Professional workers —self-employed	Intermediate non-manual workers	Junior non-manual workers	Foremen and supervisors	Skilled manual workers	Semi-skilled manual workers	Farmers—employers and managers
Potential abilities used:	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	54	70	33	77	77	100	80	83	81
No	43	30	57	20	20	—	19	16	19
Don't know/not answered ..	3	—	10	3	3	—	1	1	—
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(114)	(275)	(42)	(122)	(129)	(42)	(85)	(58)	(155)

(Some other socio-economic groups have been omitted from this table because the numbers were too small for analysis.)

The influence of council work in developing potential abilities was illustrated by what councillors said in answer to the question. The following are a selection of typical comments:

‘It has brought a lot out in me—you surprise yourself that you’re able to grasp so many details and so much knowledge of a wide variety of things.’

‘If I didn’t do this I would just be in a dead-end job. It has sharpened my outlook and attitude—I understand people’s problems better.’

‘I am not an educated man but over the years I have been able to build up great confidence in myself. Thirty years ago I would never have dreamt of public speaking.’

Council work and occupation

A measure of overall satisfaction with council work was sought in the question: ‘Do you get more satisfaction out of your council work or out of your normal daily occupation?’ (Table 4.11). This question was put only to those informants who had worked while on the council, and altogether 23% of the sample were not asked or gave no answer. The replies fell fairly evenly into the 3 categories ‘council work more satisfying’, ‘occupation more satisfying’ and ‘enjoy both’. There were, however, some marked differences in the way councillors in different types of authority answered this question. County borough councillors much more often preferred council work to their occupation, and rural district councillors preferred their occupation to their council work. Part of the explanation of these differences may lie in the distribution of occupational groups in various types of council (e.g., county boroughs contain

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higher than average proportions of junior non-manual and manual workers). County borough councillors, who most often prefer council work, also spend most time on it, and rural district councillors, who most often prefer their occupation, spend least time on council work.

TABLE 4.11
'Do you find council work or your daily occupation more satisfying?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Council work more satisfy- ing	30	38	58	40	32	15
Enjoy both	37	37	30	34	36	40
Occupation more satisfying	33	25	12	26	32	45
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(951)	(98)	(98)	(35)	(396)	(324)

(284 informants who had not worked while on the council or did not answer the question are not included.)

With advancing age there seems to be a decreasing tendency to find occupation more satisfying than council work, but an increasing tendency to enjoy both occupation and council work (Table 4.12). This last finding is consistent with the known tendency of work satisfaction generally to increase with age. The highest proportion of our councillors finding council work more satisfying than occupation is, however, the age group 45-64. It seems that the degree to which either occupation or council work provide satisfaction varies with the significance of occupation at different stages of life.

TABLE 4.12
'Do you find council work or your daily occupation more satisfying?'—
by age

	Total	Age		
		Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%
Council work more satisfying ..	30	27	32	22
Enjoy both	37	32	35	55
Occupation more satisfying ..	33	41	33	23
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(951)	(225)	(605)	(110)

(284 informants who had not worked while on the council or did not answer the question are not included. The total of 951 includes 11 informants who did not give their age.)

Satisfactions and frustrations of council work

Among the younger councillors (under 45), occupation is more often satisfying than council work. In the analysis of socio-economic groups by age, it was shown that the younger councillors tended more often than older ones to be in professional and intermediate non-manual occupations including teachers, welfare workers, etc. Some of these young councillors (particularly the professional ones) are at a stage in their occupational careers when they are just beginning to establish themselves, and perhaps also have the responsibilities of early married life. In these circumstances, it would not be surprising if council work were to be seen as a kind of *supplement* to other aspects of life in general, and to occupational life in particular.

Among the middle-aged councillors council work becomes more often satisfying than occupation. During this period of life, it may be that some individuals find they have got as far as they can in their daily occupation, and turn to outside interests (for example, council work) for satisfaction and a sense of fresh achievement. This is not necessarily inconsistent with the tendency of work satisfaction to increase with age up to about 60; it may be that middle-aged councillors are not typical of middle-aged people generally in their attitude to their occupation, in that they do not find it demanding or rewarding enough, and hence turn to council work for self-realisation. A possible hypothesis, then, is that at middle-age, council work may often be a *compensation* for some kind of shortcoming felt in occupational life.

Councillors aged 65 and over appear to find occupation (when they still have one) and council work equally rewarding. At this age, continuation in an occupation is likely to be a voluntary matter for many councillors, and it is not surprising that more than half of the elderly working councillors said they enjoyed both council work and occupation. But 20% of all councillors are retired, and for these, more than for the employed councillors, public service must often become an important source of fulfilment and identity. For the retired we may say that council work is likely to be a *substitute* for a paid occupation.

So far we have suggested that there may be three types of relationship of council work to occupation: as supplement, as compensation and as substitute. A consideration of the attitudes of councillors in various socio-economic groups helps to test this hypothesis (Table 4.13). One of the most remarkable differences found in the survey is between the 13% of employers, managers, professionals and farmers who find council work more satisfying than occupation and the 64% of manual and agricultural workers who find this (45% of non-manual and own account non-professionals). This suggests that, for most employers, etc., whatever satisfactions they get from council work they are also able to get from their daily occupations. This would be consistent with their regarding council work as a supplement to occupation, at least in terms of providing personal satisfactions. For councillors whose jobs are more routine and offer less scope, however, council work is clearly often a means of obtaining satisfactions not offered by their occupations, that is, their council work functions as compensation for the limitations of their daily jobs.

TABLE 4.13
 ' Do you find council work or your daily occupation more satisfying? '—
 by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more sub- ordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 sub- ordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non- professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Council work more satis- fying	30	13	13	45	64
Enjoy both	37	42	43	32	20
Occupation more satisfy- ing	33	45	44	23	16
Total (Numbers) ..	100 (951)	100 (137)	100 (373)	100 (213)	100 (159)

(284 informants who had not worked while on the council or did not answer the question are not included. The total of 951 includes 69 informants who were in residual categories of employment.)

A more detailed breakdown of particular socio-economic groups showed even wider differences. Only one self-employed professional councillor (representing 3% of his group) claimed to enjoy council work more than occupation, compared with 74% among the semi-skilled manual workers. It will be seen that the manual foremen and supervisors are closer to the non-manual and employer groups in their lesser preference for council work. It seems that the job of foreman or supervisor is likely to offer personal satisfactions closer to those of council work, but it is the ordinary manual worker councillors who tend to find their major satisfactions outside their job and through council work.

TABLE 4.13a

	Employers and managers with 25 or more subordinates	Employers and managers with under 25 subordinates	Professional workers —self-employed	Intermediate non-manual workers	Junior non-manual workers	Foremen and supervisors	Skilled manual workers	Semi-skilled manual workers	Farmers—employers and managers
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Council work more satisfying	19	21	3	41	49	37	64	74	5
Enjoy both	43	42	28	30	33	40	26	2	39
Occupation more satisfying	38	37	69	29	18	23	10	24	56
Total (Numbers) ..	100 (114)	100 (275)	100 (42)	100 (122)	100 (129)	100 (42)	100 (85)	100 (58)	100 (155)

(Some other socio-economic groups have been omitted from this table because the numbers were too small for analysis.)

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There is a tendency for the elementary educated councillors to find council work more satisfying than occupation, and for those with secondary and especially further education to find the reverse (Table 4.14). These differences, probably mean that educational level is associated with certain kinds of occupation which themselves are the main factor influencing attitude to council work. For aldermen, council work is more satisfying, and only 12% prefer their occupation (Table 4.15). Also, opposed councillors more often prefer council work to occupation than do unopposed councillors, and we may suppose that the latter were more often reluctant councillors.

TABLE 4.14
'Do you find council work or your daily occupation more satisfying?'—
by education

	Total	Elementary	Secondary	Further
	%	%	%	%
Council work more satisfying ..	30	38	25	22
Enjoy both	37	38	36	27
Occupation more satisfying ..	33	24	39	51
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(951)	(403)	(350)	(171)

(284 informants who had not worked while on the council or did not answer the question are not included. The total of 951 includes 27 informants who did not state their education.)

TABLE 4.15
'Do you find council work or your daily occupation more satisfying?'—
by status on council

	Total	Unopposed councillors	Opposed councillors	Aldermen
	%	%	%	%
Council work more satisfying ..	30	22	32	50
Enjoy both	37	40	34	38
Occupation more satisfying ..	33	38	34	12
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(951)	(355)	(481)	(85)

(284 informants who had not worked while on the council or did not answer the question are not included. The total of 951 includes 30 informants who did not give their status on council.)

Informants were asked whether being a councillor had affected relations with people involved in their daily occupation. Fifteen per cent of all informants had not worked while on the council or did not answer this question. Of the remainder, 31% said that relations had been affected in some way, and 69% that relations had not been affected (Table 4.16). Relations were affected most in the county boroughs and least in the rural districts. Those who said that

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being a councillor affected work relations were asked whether this was for the better or the worse. Sixteen per cent said 'for the better', 8% 'for the worse', and 7% 'a mixture of the two'. County and rural district councillors less often than other types of councillor said work relations had been affected for the worse. The most frequent ways in which work relations were affected for the better were that informants felt they were more respected by colleagues and that their circle was extended.

Typical comments illustrating this kind of answer were:

'I have rather more prestige—the managers of my firm respect me, too.'

'Becoming a councillor affected recognition in my company—I was promoted soon afterwards.'

The most frequent ways in which work relations were affected for the worse were that business was lost, people were offended, or work relations were made more difficult. Thus:

'You need a lot of time off—this affects one's colleagues and they tend to view you as a bit of a nuisance—especially your immediate superiors.'

'I have to meet 250 people per week—they often ask me to help, and when I can't I lose business because they don't buy through me any more.'

TABLE 4.16

'Has being a councillor affected your relations with people involved in your daily occupation?'—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Relations not affected ..	69	68	57	67	67	77
Relations affected: ..						
For the better ..	16	17	16	23	17	15
For the worse ..	8	6	15	5	10	3
A mixture of better and worse ..	7	9	12	5	6	5
Total ..	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,048)	(119)	(112)	(42)	(423)	(352)

(187 informants who had not worked while on the council or did not answer the question are not included.)

Table 4.17 shows the analysis of answers by socio-economic group. The two groups of employers, managers and professionals less often have work relations affected than the non-manual and manual groups. The last two groups more often have relations affected for the better and for the worse.

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TABLE 4.17

'Has being a councillor affected your relations with people involved in your daily occupation?'—by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more subordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 subordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Relations not affected ..	69	74	74	60	60
Relations affected:					
For the better ..	16	16	12	20	19
For the worse ..	8	7	6	12	10
Mixture of better and worse	7	3	8	8	11
Total	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,048)	(157)	(406)	(228)	(181)

(187 informants who had not worked while on the council or did not answer the question are not included. The total of 1,048 includes 76 informants who were in residual categories of employment.)

Table 4.18 brings together the proportions of those reporting an adverse effect of council work on private life and occupation, by council type. It will be seen that county borough councillors are highest on both counts, and rural district and metropolitan borough councillors the two lowest. Thus the councillors who spend most time in their public duties report the most adverse effects on private life and occupation.

TABLE 4.18

Effect of council work on private life and occupation—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metropolitan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Private life suffered or suffered in some ways ..	34	40 (2)	49 (1)	33 (4)	39 (3)	21 (5)
Relations with people in occupation affected for worse or in some ways for worse	15	15 (3)	27 (1)	10 (4)	16 (2)	8 (5)
Average monthly time spent on all council work (in hrs.)	52	68 (2)	77 (1)	46 (4)	56 (3)	34 (5)

Council work in relation to occupation—Summary

In order to try to sum up the relation of occupation to council work, we may bring together the replies of various types of councillor to the three relevant questions. The analysis by council type (Table 4.19) shows that county borough councillors are relatively more satisfied with their council work than other types. Rural district councillors seem to be least satisfied with council work, although it may be that serving on a rural council does not make such an impact on the pattern of life except in regard to the use of potential abilities.

Table 4.20 gives the analysis by age. The middle-aged group emerges as the most satisfied with council work in relation to occupation, but the differences between the age indexes are small, partly because use of potential abilities in council work steadily increases with age. Informants who had not worked while on the council were asked only the question on use of abilities.

A clearer trend is seen in the analysis by socio-economic group (Table 4.21). The index rises sharply from the large employers and professionals to the manual and agricultural workers. The biggest differences in use of potential abilities are between the large employers, managers and professionals and all other groups. The biggest differences in the two council work-occupation comparison questions are between the employers, managers, professionals and farmers on the one hand, and the non-manual and manual workers on the other.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the type of relationship between council work and occupation may generally be *supplementary* in the case of employers, etc., and *compensatory* in the case of non-manual and manual workers. The compensatory function of council work appears to be the stronger motive for undertaking council work and for putting much time into it. The non-manual and manual worker councillors have been shown to spend more time on council work than those in other types of occupation, and the older councillors more time than the younger (Chapter III). Those who are likely to give the most devoted service to the council are the middle-aged non-manual and manual workers.

TABLE 4.19
Factors in satisfaction with council work (in relation to occupation)—
by council type

	Counties	County boroughs	Metro-politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%
Being councillor has given opportunity of using potential abilities ..	70 (3)	80 (1)	63 (5)	69 (4)	72 (2)
Being councillor has affected social relations at work for the better ..	26 (3)	28 (1 =)	28 (1 =)	23 (4)	26 (5)
Council work more satisfying than occupation	38 (3)	58 (1)	40 (2)	32 (4)	15 (5)
Index of satisfaction with council work (in relation to occupation) ..	134 (2)	166 (1)	131 (3)	124 (4)	107 (5)

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TABLE 4.20
Factors in satisfaction with council work (in relation to occupation)—
by age

	Total	Under 45	45-64	65 and over
	%	%	%	%
Being councillor has given opportunity of using potential abilities	71	65 (3)	71 (2)	76 (1)
Being councillor has affected social relations at work for the better	23	20 (3)	24 (2)	25 (1)
Council work more satisfying than occupation	30	27 (2)	32 (1)	22 (3)
Index of satisfaction with council work (in relation to occupation)	124	112 (3)	127 (1)	123 (2)

TABLE 4.21
Factors in satisfaction with council work (in relation to occupation)—
by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more subordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 subordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Being councillor has given opportunity of using potential abilities	71	52 (4)	70 (3)	75 (2)	82 (1)
Being councillor has affected social relations at work for the better	23	19 (4)	20 (3)	28 (2)	30 (1)
Council work more satisfying than occupation	30	13 (3 =)	13 (3 =)	45 (2)	64 (1)
Index of satisfaction with council work (in relation to occupation)	124	84 (4)	103 (3)	148 (2)	176 (1)

PART 2: LIMITATIONS ON COUNCIL POWERS

Amongst the many possible sources of dissatisfaction and frustration with council work are statutory limitations on the activities of councils. All informants were asked a series of questions the purpose of which was to provide some measure of feeling on this theme.

It is perhaps most interesting first to compare the responses to the three main questions asked.

Chapter IV

1 Does your Council make full use of its power and authority?	2 Does your Council need more powers of any sort than it now has?	3 Does Central Government put any unnecessary limitations on your Council?
Yes 78%	No 53%	No 53%
No 15%	Yes 43%	Yes 44%
Yes in some cases, no in others 5%	Don't know, not answered 4%	Don't know, not answered 3%
Don't know, not answered 2%		
Total 100 (Numbers) (1,235)	100 (1,235)	100 (1,235)

The first question emphasises the use of existing powers and a big majority of councillors thought that their councils did use them to the full. Only in the case of the former metropolitan borough councils did a substantial majority (37%) think that full use was *not* made of existing powers (Table 4.22).

The second question asked if new, *additional*, powers were needed and on this point many more councillors showed that they were dissatisfied with the existing situation. Once again dissatisfaction was highest amongst the metropolitan borough councillors, of whom 54% said more powers were needed, compared with 36% in rural districts and 33% in the county councils.

TABLE 4.22
'Does your council make full use of its power and authority?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Full use made	78	80	77	57	74	83
No, full use not made ..	15	14	16	37	17	10
Yes in some cases, no in others	5	3	5	4	7	4
Don't know	2	3	2	2	2	3
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100
(Numbers) ..	(1,235)	(152)	(134)	(46)	(483)	(420)

Satisfactions and frustrations of council work

TABLE 4.23

'Does your council need more powers of any sort than it now has?'—
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	43	33	45	54	50	36
No	53	61	50	39	48	60
Don't know	3	5	4	7	1	4
Not answered	1	1	1	—	1	—
Total (Numbers)	100 (1,235)	100 (152)	100 (134)	100 (46)	100 (483)	100 (420)

TABLE 4.24

'Does central Government put any unnecessary limitations
on the freedom of your council?' —
by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	44	55	55	48	43	35
No	53	40	43	46	55	59
Don't know	3	4	1	4	2	6
Not answered	—	1	1	2	—	—
Total (Numbers)	100 (1,235)	100 (152)	100 (134)	100 (46)	100 (483)	100 (420)

The third question examined another aspect of the same issue. The pattern of answers is the same as that given to the second question. A large minority of councillors thought that central government was unnecessarily restrictive and on this question it was councillors in counties and county boroughs who were somewhat more inclined to feel the need for greater freedom (Table 4.24). It is these two types of authority, of course, who have most frequent direct contact with central government. The tendency for authorities to focus their grievances on those with whom they do most business is illustrated further in the following table:

Does County Council put any unnecessary limitations on the freedom of your Council?		Does Central Government put any unnecessary limitations on the freedom of your Council?			
Metropolitan and Municipal boroughs and Rural districts only		Metropolitan and Municipal boroughs and Rural districts		County councils and County boroughs	
	%		%		%
Yes	53	Yes	40	Yes	55
No	43	No	56	No	41
Don't know, not answered	4	Don't know, not answered	4	Don't know, not answered	4
Total (Numbers)	100 (949)	Total (Numbers)	100 (949)	Total (Numbers)	100 (286)

The small authorities feel the same about the counties as the county and county borough councils do about the central government.

These three questions were designed to enable councillors to express generalised attitudes. During the course of the interview councillors were asked whether there was 'any one problem which you think will require a great deal of attention by the council in the next year or so'. Councillors, of course, indicated a range of problems. However, no matter what problem was chosen very much the same proportion of those councillors who mentioned it thought full use was made of existing powers, or that more powers were needed or that the central government was too restrictive. The answers to these questions, then, represent a summary of councillors' feelings about the powers of their own authorities. The situation was rather different when we asked councillors to explain, concretely, in what ways the present situation was thought to be unsatisfactory in their area.

The reasons given by councillors to explain *failure to use* existing powers fully fall into two main groups. Lethargy or fear of putting up the rates or acting against property owners amount to over half of all the reasons. This probably represents the views of about 8 or 9% of all councillors. A third of those councillors thinking that full use was not made of all powers were upset by the failure to provide for cultural and leisure activities. This proportion amounts, however, to only about 6% of all councillors.

About half of all the purposes for which it was suggested that *more* powers were needed related to housing and other building works. These were the views of just over 20% of all councillors in the sample. The proportion giving this reply was highest in the rural districts and lowest amongst county councillors. The numbers of metropolitan borough councillors involved are low but the indication is that feeling ran fairly high among them on the need for more power for housing. Second amongst the purposes for which more powers were needed was improvements in the roads system and following this education. Thirty-three per cent of county councillors who felt that more powers were needed specified education, but it must be remembered that this amounts only to 11% of all county councillors. Nearly a quarter of all councillors who felt that more powers were needed gave rather general answers when they were asked to say for what purpose the powers were needed.

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When councillors were asked to say what were the unnecessary limitations put on them by the central government the answers were, as is to be expected, clearly related to the fields for which they have formal authority. There were marked differences between councillors from different types of authority. Thus the limitations on the freedom of councillors to do as they wished on financial and rating matters were mentioned by the largest group of complainants (11% of all councillors). But more county councillors feel strongly on this point than rural district councillors. On the other hand while 9% of all councillors thought that limitations on the freedom of councillors to deal with their housing problems were irksome, more rural district councillors mentioned housing (12%) than county councillors (2%). Similarly, a much higher proportion of county councillors mentioned education than any other type of councillor.

The major 'unnecessary' limitation which the smaller authorities thought the county councils put on their freedom related to town and country planning controls. Nearly two-thirds of all complaints about county councils (40% of all rural district and over 30% of all municipal borough and urban district councillors) were on this theme.

The views of different groups of councillors on power and its limitations

Whilst councillors in different types of authority thus pointed out the way in which limitations of their powers affected their local activities, it is possible to detect differences in the attitudes of the 'activists' in all councils compared with others. We can distinguish between those councillors who feel that 'enough is being done to help people and improve things' and those who feel that 'more should be done' (Table 4.25). Amongst the latter group 27% thought that full use was *not being* made of existing powers. While this is higher than the average it still means that amongst even those 'activist' councillors 62% thought that full use *was* being made of existing powers. Amongst this group who thought more should be done for people, 51% thought their councils needed more powers. But 38% of those who thought that enough was being done for people at present also thought that their councils needed more powers.

TABLE 4.25

'Does your council make full use of its power and authority?'—
by 'Is enough being done by council to help people and improve things in the area?'

	Total	Whether council does enough		
		Enough is being done	More should be done	Enough in some ways more should be done in others
	%	%	%	%
Full use made	78	89	62	68
No, full use not made	15	6	27	21
Yes in some cases, no in others	5	3	7	10
Don't know	2	2	4	1
Total	100	100	100	100
(Numbers)	(1,235)	(666)	(414)	(136)

(The total of 1,235 includes 19 informants who did not state whether enough is being done by council in area.)

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It might be expected that there would be differences between the party in power and the opposition, but the views of members of both sides of the council on the use of present powers or the need for more powers were very much the same. There were differences, however, between the views of aldermen, those councillors who had won an opposed election and those who had been returned unopposed (Tables 4.26-27). The unopposed group were less likely than the others to feel that their councils needed more power or more freedom. Aldermen had mixed feelings. Whereas they believed by a very large majority that their councils made full use of existing powers, they also felt rather more strongly than the other groups that the central government limited the freedom of their councils 'unnecessarily'.

TABLE 4.26
'Does your council need more powers of any sort than it now has?'—
by status on council

	Total	Councillor unopposed	Councillor opposed	Alderman
	%	%	%	%
Yes	43	33	49	40
No	53	64	47	55
Don't know	3	3	3	2
Not answered	1	—	1	3
Total (Numbers) ..	100 (1,235)	100 (450)	100 (620)	100 (127)

(The total of 1,235 includes 38 informants who did not give their status on council.)

TABLE 4.27
'Does the central government put any unnecessary limitations
on the freedom of council?'—by status on council

	Total	Councillor unopposed	Councillor opposed	Alderman
	%	%	%	%
Yes	44	38	45	54
No	53	56	52	45
Don't know	3	6	2	—
Not answered	—	—	1	1
Total (Numbers) ..	100 (1,235)	100 (450)	100 (620)	100 (127)

(The total of 1,235 includes 38 informants who did not give their status on council.)

Councillors' opinions on the powers of local authorities were related to their own range of social contacts. The more organisations they belonged to the more likely they were to feel that full use was *not* made of existing powers, that additional powers *were* needed or that the central government limited the

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freedom of councils unnecessarily (Table 4.28). Perhaps the wider the councillor's social contacts are, the more aware he becomes of the problems and needs of his area, or the more subject he becomes to the pressures of existing groups for further action.

TABLE 4.28
Attitudes to limitations—
by total membership of organisations of various kinds

	Total	Number of memberships			
		0-3	4-6	7-9	10 or more
	%	%	%	%	%
Council does not make full use of its power and authority ..	15	11	13	16	23
Council needs more power ..	43	38	41	40	57
Central government puts unnecessary limitations on freedom of council	44	38	42	42	47

There were no great differences between the various age groups on the powers of councils. Perhaps the younger councillors were somewhat more likely than the older to feel that full use was not made of existing powers.

TABLE 4.29
Attitudes to limitations—by socio-economic group

	Total	Employers & managers with 25 or more subordinates & professionals	Employers & managers with under 25 subordinates & farmers	Non-manual and own account non-professionals	Manual and agricultural workers
	%	%	%	%	%
Council does not make full use of its power and authority ..	15	15	13	22	13
Council needs more power ..	43	43	36	54	53
Central government puts unnecessary limitations on freedom of council	44	36	38	53	52

The two groups of employers and managers were *less* likely than the other two groups to feel that more powers were needed or that unnecessary restrictions were imposed (Table 4.29). There were no such clear cut differences between the different types of authority. The fact that counties and county boroughs are closer to the central authorities affects their views on the restrictions imposed by the centre. But on the other issues the county and rural district councillors were *less* likely than the urban authorities to believe that more powers were needed or that insufficient use was made of existing powers (Table 4.30).

TABLE 4.30
Attitudes to limitations—by council type

	All councils	Counties	County boroughs	Metro- politan boroughs	Municipal boroughs & urban districts	Rural districts
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Council does not make full use of its power and authority	15	14 (4)	16 (3)	37 (1)	17 (2)	10 (5)
Council needs more power	43	33 (5)	45 (3)	54 (1)	50 (2)	36 (4)
Central government puts unnecessary limitations on freedom of council . .	44	55 (1 =)	55 (1 =)	48 (3)	43 (4)	35 (5)

It seems that attitudes to the issues discussed in this section do not relate in such a clear cut way to educational levels or age as to the feeling for action of councillors; whether or not they can be classified as activists, and whether or not they have many contacts with other organisations. Whilst attitudes are affected by the legal situation or responsibilities of the different types of council, the *level* of feeling is more likely to relate to the proportion of activists on the council. There does, however, seem to be a difference between the attitudes of the two groups of employers and managers compared with the two groups of non-manual and manual workers.

SUMMARY OF CHAPTER IV

PART I

Satisfactions and frustrations of Council work

1. Nearly two-thirds of the items which give councillors satisfaction are connected with particular council activities, and of these housing and old people's welfare are most prominent.
2. Frustrations arose mainly out of the way the machinery of local government worked, and in particular over relations with central government or county council and delays of various kinds. Relatively few particular council activities were named as sources of frustration. Party politics was mentioned as a source of frustration by only 8% of informants, although in county and metropolitan boroughs the figure was slightly higher.
3. If we divide satisfactions into two broad groups: those concerned with concrete activities or the problems of individuals and those concerned with broad policy or general administrative efficiency, we find some indications of differences between different types of council. Councillors on counties and smaller urban authorities were somewhat more likely to find satisfactions of the 'policy-impersonal' type whilst the metropolitan borough and rural district councillors were more likely to express satisfaction of the 'concrete activity-people' type. County borough councillors had a midway position which may indicate that they found a broader range of satisfactions than other councillors.
4. What is the effect of council work on councillors' private lives? Two-thirds of our informants said that council work had either made no difference to or had helped their private life. A quarter said that their private life had suffered, and this figure rose to 39% among county borough councillors, who spend most time on their public duties. An above average proportion of manual worker councillors said that their private life had suffered, as did younger councillors.
5. Nearly three-quarters of informants said that being a councillor had given them the opportunity of using potential abilities, and the figure rose to 80% in the county boroughs. Manual workers had the highest proportion saying this, particularly in relation to public speaking, self-expression, and widening outlook and knowledge.
6. How do councillors see council work in relation to their occupations? About a third of employed informants found council work more satisfying than their occupation, a third vice versa, and a third enjoyed both. In county boroughs council work was found more satisfying by 58%. The age group with the highest proportion preferring council work was the 45-64. Nearly two-thirds of manual workers preferred council work, but only 13% of employers, managers, professionals and farmers. It is suggested that young councillors in interesting and progressive jobs may see council work as a kind of *supplement* in their lives,

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middle-aged councillors in more routine and undemanding jobs may see it as *compensation*, and retired councillors may see it as a *substitute*. The elementary-educated council members, and especially the aldermen, have higher proportions preferring council work to occupation.

7. Over two-thirds of working councillors said that relations involved with people in their daily occupation had not been affected by their council activities. Sixteen per cent said that relations had been affected for the better, and 8% for the worse. Both these figures were higher for county borough, and for non-manual and manual councillors.

8. An index of satisfaction with council work in relation to occupation shows that county borough councillors are most satisfied and rural district councillors least. By a small margin the middle-aged group are the most satisfied. The large employers and professionals are substantially less satisfied than the manual workers.

PART II

Limitations of powers

9. Do councillors feel frustrated because of statutory or practical limitations on the powers of their authorities? Most councillors feel that their councils are now making full use of their powers and authority. 43 %, however, feel that more powers are needed and about the same proportion feel that the central government puts unnecessary limitations on councils.

10. The limitations which irked councillors varied according to the type of authority. Thus whilst 9% of all councillors thought there were unnecessary limitations on their powers to deal with housing problems, 12% of rural district councillors mentioned this and only 2% of county councillors. Many more county councillors, however, grumbled about limitations on their ability to deal with educational problems than councillors in any other type of authority. Nearly two-thirds of all complaints made about county councils by urban and rural district councillors related to planning controls.

11. Councillors' attitudes towards such restrictions depended very much on whether they were 'activists'; whether they felt that councils should do more. They also related to the number of connections councillors had with other organisations. These factors very much influenced the level of feeling for more freedom and more powers for councils.

12. Those councillors who were employers and managers in both small and large concerns, professionals and farmers were *less likely* than the other two groups mainly manual and non-manual workers, to feel that more power was needed.

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